RUSSIAN WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
№ 39 SEPTEMBER 1992

NEW TIMES

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INTERNATIONAL

CENTRAL ASIA:

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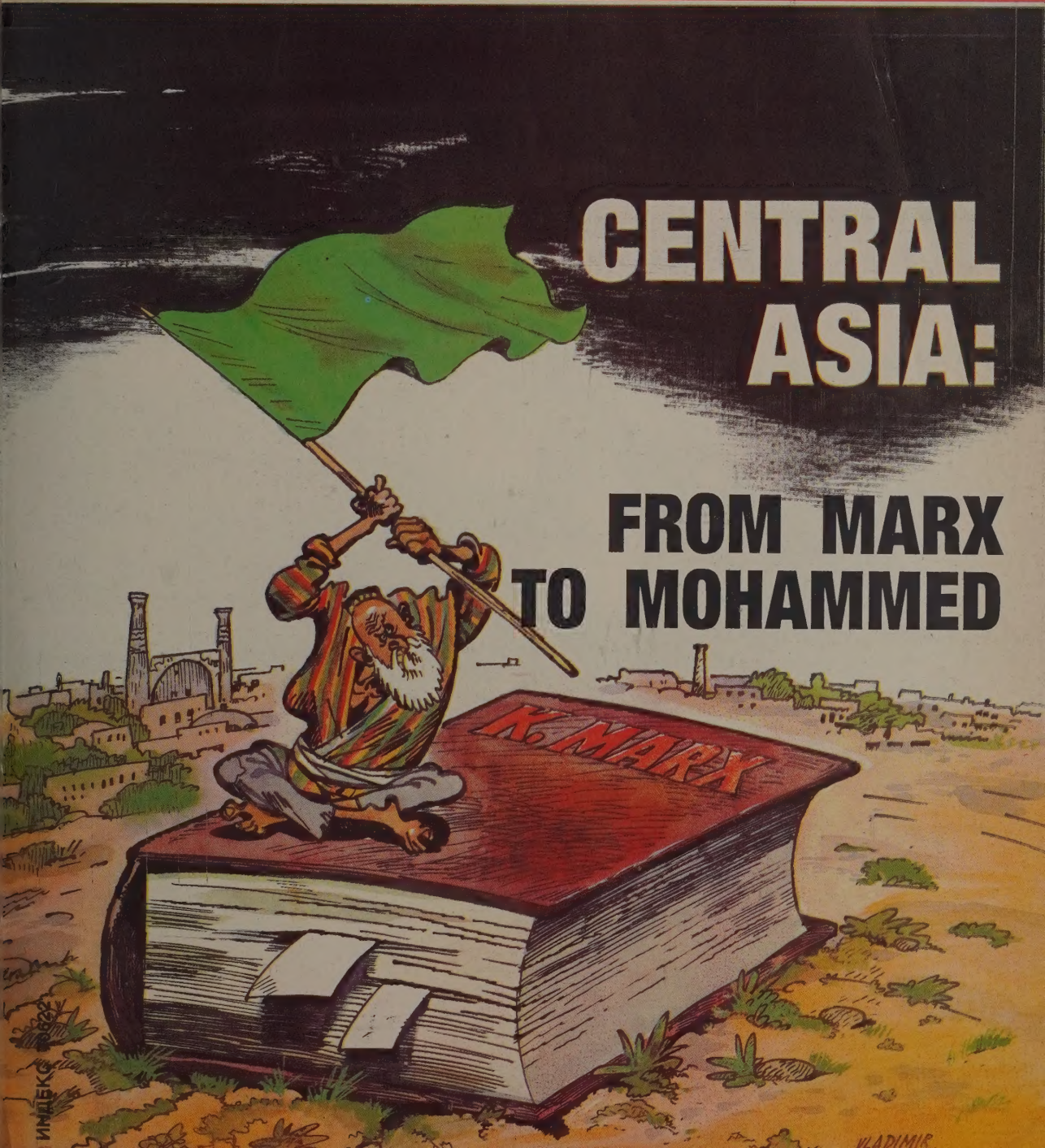

St. PETERSBURG PANORAMA

is a monthly illustrated magazine designed for a wide circle of readers who are interested in the life of St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region: in economy, municipal management, architecture and city-planning. A full range of articles are devoted to the history of Russia, St. Petersburg, cities and towns of the region, to the history of and the current situation in culture, literature and art.

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Houses and people
The Russian intelligentsia
The Russian business people
The ladies of our city
We are Leningraders, you and me...

A series of essays by a 19th century publicist M.L. Mikhailov "St. Petersburg and its environs" will continue to appear.
The editorial staff plans to improve the design of the magazine and increase the number of colour illustrations.

A quarterly subscription is 45 rubles; a six month one, 90 rubles; a yearly subscription is 180 rubles.

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The index of the magazine is 73370

Today St. Petersburg Panorama is circulated in Russia, the CIS countries, the Baltic states, the USA, Germany, Canada, Japan, China, France, the Netherlands, Finland and other European and Asian countries.

Editorial Staff
St. Petersburg Panorama

Our address:
191025, St. Petersburg, Nevsky Prospect 53
Phones: 113-15-23, 113-13-28

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Cover: cartoon by Vladimir Mochalov

I believe in Russia

I am quite interested in both the political and economic changes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe which gained momentum in 1989 and continue to progress at a rapid pace. This interest has evolved into a personal research project and a quest for information about Russia in particular. My primary source of information has been the *New York Times* newspaper. I really enjoy being able to read what Russians are saying about themselves and compare this with the analysis of both American and English journalists who write for other publications.

As you might assume, as an American, I have a natural prejudice in favor of the changes which President Yeltsin and his government are trying to implement in the arena of a free market economy and political reforms, toward an open and democratic system of government.

As a human being, I feel a sensitivity to the emotional turmoil and confusion caused by all the revelations on long suppressed secrets and distortions of the communist past. I am also sensitive to the difficulties which the current tough economic times create for the daily life of many Russians.

For the present, I would just like to extend all the care and moral support possible through this letter to the people of the former Soviet Union.

Thank you for your consideration – and for the *NEW TIMES INTERNATIONAL*.

Pat Cathcart
San Antonio,
USA

To space in Russian rockets...

Most of our nuclear weapon and rocket missile experts are convinced that the United States should make use of the proven and affordable Russian technologies in implementing American space programmes. This would save a lot of our taxpayers' money. Naturally, this concerns only purely peaceful programmes, in particular, the space station Freedom which could be orbited without much expense with the help of Russian space transports which have the highest reputation. The work with peaceful atoms seems nobler and more humane to me than designing such deadly "toys" as SDI, with or without Russia's participation.

Davis Luke
California,
USA

Zhirinovsky's "pearls"

I chanced to be present at a meeting of our countrymen with the "super-star" V.Zhirinovsky. Here are some of the "high points" in his "programme:"

Why did you support state criminals in August 1991?

I didn't support them, I simply assessed the matter. They had a good programme: stabilization, fighting crime, preservation of the country's territorial integrity. Is this bad? The programme was rejected, and what's the result? No country, no economy, the crime rate is growing. It's a tragedy that their action turned out to be a semi-farse. They had the army, the police and the KGB under their command, and they failed! I wouldn't. Generally speaking, it's high time to change the inmates. The present leaders have committed many more crimes in the face of the people.

There is a forecast by an astrologist: 'If Mr Zhirinovsky comes to power, he'll manage to hold on only three months.' Your reaction to the forecast and your opinion of astrology?

My opinion of astrology is negative, but I'll say the following with regard to the forecast: three months will be quite enough for me to do away with all those who poison your life.

Having heard all this, I try to solve the riddle: where should this person go, to a lunatic asylum or a penitentiary institution?

Simonenko
Moscow

A race change...

I have an urgent request to address to you: give me info on plastic surgery, I believe that such surgical treatment should completely change the appearance of a person, his racial identity and remove all imperfections in the form, size and proportions of his scull. Man becomes freer when he has a chance to resort to it, doesn't he?

Can money buy beauty? I mean not merely small corrections in the shape of nose, ears and buttocks, but a complete change in one's appearance, including a change in racial identity.

Oleg Kim
Jambul

Penal sentence under ban!

I welcome the adoption of former USSR legislation which reduces the scope of crimes punishable by the death penalty, the recent publication of the Russian death penalty statistics, and the open debate on the death penalty.

However, as a member of Amnesty International, I express regret that the CIS retains the death penalty in law. Amnesty International considers that the death penalty is inherently unjust and arbitrary, however heinous the crime for which it is provided and however scrupulous the procedures by which it is enforced.

I would like to ask you in CIS encourage further open and free debate on the death penalty with a view to its total abolition. And I call for immediate moratorium on all death sentences and executions in CIS.

Naohiro Osuga
Osaka,
Japan

THE WAY I SEE IT

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

NEW TIMES
INTERNATIONAL
RUSSIAN WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
FOUNDED 1943

Publisher
The New Times Publishing House
Joint-Stock Company

President
Sergei DUBOV

Editor-in-Chief
of Russian edition
Alexander PUMPYANSKY

Editor-in-Chief
of international editions
Sergei GOLYAKOV

Managing Editor
Victor SIDENKO

English Editor
Maria CHERNYAEVA

Art Director
Ivan GOLOVIN

Address:
Pushkin Square,
Moscow, GSP, 103782, Russia
Telephones: 229-88-72,
209-07-67
Telex: 411164a newt SU,
411164b newt SU
Telefax: 200-42-23, 200-41-92

Printed by
PPC Moskovskaya Pravda
7, Ulitsa 1905 Goda, Moscow

Registration certificate No.01039
Order No.3814

© New Times
Publishing House

Power in Russia: again 15 men in the Kremlin

Political life in Russia has traditionally been envigorated by the renewal of parliamentary proceedings. Railing against the Speaker, the Premier and the President and demanding their resignation is no longer a surprise, but is still a show. By virtue of the authoritarian tradition of political thinking in Russia, nothing more is in fact expected from the Russian parliament. There is a strong belief that parliamentarians only engage in empty talk, while real action is made by those who have the real power.

This conviction grew stronger after Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan was cancelled. Many were bewildered by the fact that this somewhat scandalous decision was made not at a government session, not at an extraordinary session of the parliament, but at the meeting of a body which is purely consultative as stipulated by the Russian Constitution. Very little is still known about the Security Council in this country, too little for it to make such sensational decisions. But the little which is known painfully resembles to the politicized public the Politburo of Stalin and the later communist times, that same body which Winston Churchill meant when he said in 1947 that world peace is threatened by 15 men in the Kremlin.

Those who criticize the Security Council are of course very far from ascribing to this institution an equally sinister role. However, it is perceived precisely as a threat to democratic practices, to the "lucidity" of the political process, to representative institutions. It calls to mind reminiscences of a too horrid sort. The Council gathers once a week without any definite agenda, passes no official resolutions, yet the opinions arrived at by its members, headed by the President, are capable of setting into motion any state machinery. No surprise! The Council includes the Vice-President, the head of the government and First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The Politburo had the same structure, therefore the participants in its sessions had no need to adopt resolutions – their opinions, formulated by the CPSU CC General Secretary at the conclusion of each meeting, were made public in short communiqués under the heading, "In the CPSU CC Politburo" and were immediately "implemented," in the parlance of those days. As the insiders of the Russian policy making bodies say, now the same takes place with regard to secret resolutions of the Security Council. The only difference being that there is still more fog surrounding the matter, because the press doesn't issue even brief communiqués about its meetings. So it's quite typical for a minister to substantiate his attempts to prove to his subordinates the necessity to introduce corrections in their work by references to the opinion expressed at the Security Council.

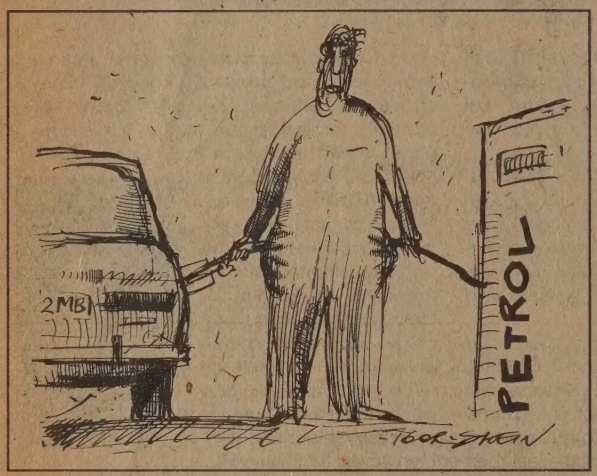
The Kremlin is bewitched by the magic of exercising power secretly. The public is meanwhile shocked by the impudence displayed by the Security Council as it interfered in the course of policy making, which was only added to by public appearances and interviews of the 53-year-old Secretary of the Security Council Yuri Skokov. This once outstanding figure in the military-industrial complex thought of nothing better than to compare the SC with the Politburo, the absence of which ostensibly accounts for the ineffectiveness of the current system of power. Liberally-minded journalists immediately got back at Yuri Skokov by comparing him with Stalin who in the 1920s turned the modest bureaucratic apparat of the Communist Party into the plenipotentiary master of the country, higher than the Soviets and the government and issuing binding orders to the army and secret police. One can only laugh through tears: there is no force able to thwart a leader's attempt to do the same with the still not so numerous (made up of 40 people) apparat of the Security Council. Russia never misses a chance to acquire an authoritarian, simple to operate system for wielding power – above the Constitution.

Some claim, however, that Boris Yeltsin has already accomplished a "quiet coup." The President's decree on the Security Council adopted in June interprets rather broadly the functions of this body which had earlier been outlined by the parliament in the Law on National Security. The fact that it passed unnoticed by the parliament demonstrates that many similar tricks are possible in the future.

Vladimir Kulistikov

THIS WEEK

■ A few days ago the Russian government freed oil prices. This time it did not resort to "shock therapy." The authorities acted humanely, trying to cushion the blow, at least in words. It turns out that prices are not freed but "regulated," and only "for some types of fuel." The drastic measure is also being camouflaged by other means. The government gave financial, technical and economic reasons in favour of freeing oil prices that could nonplus even a hard-boiled magnate. In any case, the "black gold" is now dearer, which is not happy news. For the man in the street, there remains only to await yet another jump in prices.



■ A meeting of the Interparliamentary Assembly of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), held in the Kirghiz capital, Bishkek, recently, can rightly be called a dress rehearsal for a CIS summit to be held there some time later. Though delegations from Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Moldova and Turkmenia did not arrive in Bishkek, which certainly lessened the status of the assembly, it did not become a run-of-the-mill event.

One of the main purposes of the assembly was to find means to bring the CIS members together and to work out common approaches to human rights and the social protection of citizens. The results of the assembly plenary meeting show that members of parliaments did not meet just to chat. They adopted appeals to international parliamentary organizations and a statement on the social protection of citizens, and formulated ways to eliminate the differences in the legislations of the CIS member states and made recommendations for drafting legislative acts for the Commonwealth.

The protection of human rights was another subject on the agenda of the assembly. The assembly recommended to CIS governmental bodies, that citizens of one CIS state permanently residing in another, be ensured socio-economic rights and legal protection identical to those enjoyed by all other citizens of that state, that conditions for free choice and granting of citizenship be provided, the observance of the property rights on the territory of the member states be guaranteed, and their legal, material and moral responsibility to refugees from their territory recognized.

■ President Yeltsin met in the Kremlin with President Shaimiyev of Tatarstan. They discussed, among other major questions, the course of drafting a treaty between Russia and the Tatar republic. In view of differences on this question, the Russian and Tatar delegations were instructed to finalize the text of the treaty.

The Tatar delegation stated its position in this way: "Many common points have been found. But there are also differences. They concern mainly what matters should be decided by Tatarstan only and which by Russia, and what matters should be decided jointly."

Speaking about the treaty between Russia and their republic, the Tatar leaders invariably stress: "We can't agree with those who say that Tatarstan wants to secede from Russia and, moreover, is breaking up the federation." In the opinion of President Shaimiyev, the treaty between Russia and Tatarstan can be signed already this year.

■ At its meeting in the French capital, the Paris Club, which unites representatives of 17 states – the world's major creditors – failed to defer the payment of Russia's debts to the West, which had been expected. In the opinion of Russian officials, it is not a good signal for Moscow on the eve of the G7 finance ministers' meeting in Washington.

Many financial experts believe that the Russian economy is in a state of chaos and that the deferment of payments on debts and new credits should not be granted to Russia. In their opinion, Russia has earned enough currency by export this year to repay the five billion dollars it owes Western creditors. However, it has paid only 500 million dollars. Experts believe that one of the main reasons for such a situation is the "secret flight of capital." Russian enterprises, including state-owned ones, prefer to leave their export earnings abroad, thereby reducing their contributions to the treasury.

■ Tajikistan increasingly reminds one of neighbouring Afghanistan when the latter was torn by war – political struggles mixed with religious conflicts and ethnic feuds mixed with vendettas. In the opinion of experts, the fierce and senseless conflict is

The mournful face of the war

potentially explosive, because its flames could spread to neighbouring countries and spark an uncontrollable fire. The local population is particularly uneasy about the danger of clashes between Tajiks and Uzbeks who are living side by side there. Russian troops have been sent to Tajikistan to prevent ethnic bloodshed and protect strategically important installations in that republic. A UN group is watching the development of the situation in that mountainous region. The hope that peace will be restored in Tajikistan remains, nevertheless.

■ As distinct from some of the ministers of the Brezhnev period who could hold their posts for decades, today highly-placed officials do not feel secure in their positions. This can be said about Victor Gerashchenko, acting chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, who was appointed to his present post only several months ago. The parliamentary coalition of reforms, the Democratic Rus-

sia movement and the Republican Party of Russia have urged the Russian parliament to consider without delay whether Gerashchenko fits his post.

Without delving into the financial muddle some leaders want to drag ordinary people down into, the essence of the imminent scandal can be described in this way: "Russia is being robbed, while Gerashchenko looks through his fingers at it, and in general, is conniving with financial 'foes' in every way."

The post of Chairman of the Central Bank of Russia is not an enviable one indeed.

■ The autumn session of the Ukrainian parliament began in an atmosphere which, like the weather, evoked sad thoughts. On the eve of the opening of the session, a column of buses was stopped on the outskirts of Kiev. It carried veterans who were going to the capital to demand social protection from the parliament. There was a clash between the police and the veterans, and people were injured on both sides. On the insistence of deputies, a commission was formed to investigate the incident. But it was not the only problem which arose before the parliament. Other problems were on a bureaucratic plane.

It turned out that the main documents, which were to set the tone for everything that was to be done by the parliament in the next few months, had not been prepared. Moreover, the fault lay with the top officials of the republic. The President failed to present a report on national economic policy, measures to ride out the crisis and the renewal of the government. The Prime Minister was not prepared to give the parliament a true picture of the present-day economic situation in Ukraine and submit a plan of actions to deepen reforms. The chairman of the parliament did not have an analytical report to explain why the laws adopted by it are not put into effect.

After a brief discussion of the situation, the parliament decided to postpone the addresses of the President and the Prime Minster for ten days.

■ A court in a suburb of Riga is hearing the case of Sergei Parfenov, former deputy commander of the Riga-based special-purpose police unit of the USSR Interior Ministry, kidnapped by Latvian special services in Surgut. During a nearly year-long investigation, Parfenov refused to give evidence and did not plead guilty. He adopted the same stand when the preliminary investigation had been completed. Neither Parfenov nor his lawyer knows what the Russian Foreign Ministry thinks about the trial. It was reported at the last moment, however, that Gennady Kaznacheyev, a consular official of the Russian Foreign Ministry, was arriving in Riga for the trial.

Sergei Parfenov in the courtroom

CARTOON OF THE WEEK

■ The burning secret of the Krasnoyarsk-45 nuclear research centre has been revealed. The administration of that closed town adopted a decision strictly regulating the time and places of the sale of alcoholic drinks. This means an end to round-the-clock sale of spirits in the region.

The decision is prompted by concern over the fact that the town has turned into "a swamp of drunkenness," this is how the head of the Krasnoyarsk-45 administration described his town because of the great love of its citizens for hard liquor.

As a result of this burning love for vodka and wines, labour discipline has declined, crime is thriving and family scandals have become a frequent occurrence. According to town statistics, 12 persons were delivered to the local mental hospital in a state of delirium tremens within one day only. It is a record figure for a small town.

After long thought, one of the Krasnoyarsk doctors said: "It's surprising that with such high prices for alcoholic drinks intoxication is more common than it was in the period of stagnation, when hard drinking thrived."

Quotation of the week

"Today the Soviets have virtually replaced regional, city and other party committees which exercised absolute rule. What we need under present conditions is a new legal base for both legislative and executive power. We need a democratic constitution, not a compromise variant which our official draft is now."

Anatoly Sobchak,
mayor of St. Petersburg

Afghanistan without "a threat from the North"

The events in Afghanistan have upset all geopolitical calculations and forecasts. By sending troops to that country, the Soviet leadership did not save Kabul's pro-communist regime. It merely brought about, in the end, the fall of the communist system in the USSR. Today we see one more paradox. The victory of mujaheddin proved illusory for the United States, which had financed and armed the anti-Kabul forces for many years. It appears that Washington has nursed a monster. A long-time American protégé, Hekmatyar, who turns out to be a fervent opponent of the West and an irreconcilable Islamic fundamentalist, is merely a personification of the tendency. Many of those fighting against him, including some advocates of the Rabbani-led provisional government, are vying with Hekmatyar in the defence of Islamic values.

With the disappearance of the "communist threat," Muslim fundamentalism is viewed in the United States, and in the West as a whole, as the chief contender for the role of a "global evil doer." Some are laying it on too thick, of course. The fact remains, however, that a second wave of fundamentalism has arisen in the wake of the Gulf war. Just as in the first wave, Shiites are its foremost members – from Iran, where the orthodox followers of Khomeini have become more active again, to Lebanon, where the advocates of the pro-Iranian Shiite Party of God won an unexpected victory in recent elections. Today Sunnites are also influenced by fundamentalism. Suffice it to recall Algeria, where only the army prevented the victory of Islamic extremists, and Sudan, where they have come to power. The wave of fundamentalism has also reached Pakistan.

The latest events in Afghanistan seem to be a link in the chain. Nevertheless, there is a lot of mystery in them. How could it be that the Najibullah regime, which held out after the evacuation of Soviet troops, rapidly collapsed like a house of cards? Why did mujaheddin fiercely attack each other after the fall of this regime? Can it be explained by different interpretations of Islam by Shiites and Sunnites, or by the "ethnic incompatibility" of Pushtuns, Uzbeks and Tajiks, who inhabit Afghanistan? All of them have lived together for centuries. They fought only against intruders from the North – first from faraway Britain and then from the neighbouring USSR.

But today there are no intruders and not even a threat from the North. Small and unstable, though essentially Muslim states have arisen on the territory of the powerful but alien "northern giant." Fear has disappeared as have the bonds of community. On the other hand, with the ending of the cold war and the break-up of the USSR the United States and the West as a whole have lost much of their interest in Afghanistan. The misfortune would be half as much if the Afghans were left alone. The different communities would probably be able to find a formula for coexistence. The trouble is that Afghanistan has become an apple of discord between major Muslim states of South Asia and the Middle East, namely, between Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, other Arab states, and Turkey, to a lesser extent.

All of them are trying to fill in the "vacuum," and not by diplomatic means only. Afghanistan is not an end in itself in this invisible struggle. According to the Paris newspaper *Le Figaro*, Islamic revolutionaries of all shades are hurrying to reach Kabul from Khartum or Teheran. They want to use Afghanistan as a stepping-stone leading them into Central Asia. This view is confirmed by numerous reports about secret deliveries of arms, including Stinger missiles, and the penetration of armed groups from Afghanistan into Tajikistan, where the situation remains unstable and fundamentalists are becoming more active.

The key to solving the Afghan riddle perhaps lies in Tajikistan – not in its spiritual, but rather in the material sphere. I have in mind the old uranium mines and large plants for uranium enrichment built not far from the city of Khojend (Khodzhent), former Leninabad, under Lavrenti Beria, who was in charge of the first Soviet atomic programme. Russian and Western newspapers carried reports about the keen interest shown in this "Atombad" by various forces eager to develop an "Islamic nuclear bomb." Neither Iran nor Pakistan has a common border with Tajikistan. Afghanistan, on the other hand, has such a border, and quite a long one. Moreover, as President Karimov of Uzbekistan revealed, this border "does not actually exist any longer."

It is clear therefore why the member states of the Commonwealth, and Central Asian republics most of all, are interested in Commonwealth troops, Russian frontier guards, protecting the Tajik-Afghan border. Is it in the interests of Western countries? I think the answer is obvious. However, the protection of this border is a difficult and dangerous burden for Russia, especially because many soldiers of the former Soviet army are still held by mujaheddin.

This is our permanent headache, the more so that Russian soldiers are held captive in Afghanistan and, just as most other countries, Russia does not have diplomats there to negotiate for their release. They have been compelled to leave Kabul under fire. In the opinion of *Le Figaro*, the shelling of embassies was not accidental. The purpose was to isolate Afghanistan from the world community so that "Islamic revolutionaries of all shades" could achieve their plans without hindrance. In any case, the isolation of Afghanistan is fraught with a danger for the world community, to say nothing of Afghans themselves. Can this danger be eliminated in the near future? The new Russia, which condemned the unjust war unleashed by the Brezhnev regime, could do more than others in this respect.

Dmitry Volsky

The century's end: with and without communism

The angels probably rejoiced at communism's debacle so that Demiurge had to call them to order – there is a long way towards a perfect bliss

What the 20th century is witnessing is more than a happy end to the bloody communist utopia. The techtonic structures of the world order have come into motion and threaten to displace the continents.

This is not new. Even the relatively stable period between 1815 and 1914 (framed by Napoleon's fall and the First World War) had its share of upheavals: carving the world into colonies with the emergence of Japan and Germany as super-powers on the world scene. What is going on today should not cause hysterics – no matter how dangerous these shifts and displacements might be, all of them are perfectly within the order of things.

What was anomalous was presenting communism as an absolute evil that allegedly caused all troubles in the world. Indeed, the red plague claimed tens of millions of lives and corrupted the basic moral precepts beyond recognition. It threw the gauntlet to 20th-century civilization, its ideology spread death everywhere it reached to. Indeed, the world was split into two camps – something unheard of before when entire continents were able to preserve their neutrality. Yet it is naive to present communism as a perfect embodiment of evil. From the point of view of civilization, the fight against communism was by no means Armageddon, the final battle of good against evil, it is nothing more than another stage in the eternal battle of moral values, states and nations. The angels probably rejoiced at communism's debacle so that Demiurge had to call them to order – there is a long way towards a perfect bliss.

A camp of your choice

In the communist era, the level of political integration was unique. The idea of two camps on the world scene was generally correct only for 1949-1959; later, China climbed up to the stage to join two main figures, the USA and the USSR. The Chinese camp was smaller and less significant as compared with the two major coalitions. Yet it was a political if not ideological camp (to counterpose Chinese and Soviet, Cuban, Hungarian socialism would mean stretching the point too far).

Integration reached its peak between 1949 and 1959, then it began to diminish with the Chinese subcontinent slipping away to float on its own. True, its communist affiliation considerably restricts its autonomy.

Integration was indeed amazing – there were no neutral zones at all. Countries and nations were driven together not by the idea of the community of people – they were brought together by the dire necessity of opposition. This was as artificial on the other side of the fence.

Witness Japan's surrender of its foreign policy and defence to Washington, American military presence in Europe, American monopoly on formulating strategy – all of this went against Western instincts and was tolerated because of the communist threat.

Disintegration of the Soviet bloc was in fact a disintegration of the empire's inner and outer defences. It unfolded swiftly and turned into a landslide. Dinistegration of the rest of the world is less obvious and will happen mainly in the future. Forcibly integrated into the Soviet bloc, countries and nations found it hard to adjust themselves. In the Western world, too, integration happened by coersion – but it was coersion by fear. After many years of integration into the West, these countries have come to identify themselves with the Western community both psychologically and economically. Certain military-political mechanisms proved to be rational. Strange as it may seem, the communist community is not dead. No borders, no visas can cut Estonia from Russia. The contrary is true – by introducing entry visas it demonstrated that it has not freed itself from the communist shackles. It remains part of the post-communsit East. The members of this community are bound together by poverty, political instability, they are conflict-ridden, unpredictable and exceedingly quarrelsome. With such a neighbour at its doorstep the West cannot totally disintegrate in the military-political sphere.

Still, this disintegration will take place in rather clear-cut forms.

Ghosts of 1913

Europe will further drift away from the United States, NATO will gradually lose its significance, while the West European structures will become more prominent. When the Soviet Union was still alive, Western Europe became a centre of power; its drift goes on and on. This poses an important question: what will happen to European integration? So far Western Europe remains one of the three world focal points of integration together with the bilateral USA-Japan and USA-Canada systems. The road to a united Europe is dotted with stumbling blocks of various sizes. One of them is the Danish referendum. It caused a lot of commotion, but its significance is marginal. What is more disqueting are the ghosts of 1913 brought into existence once more by the Balkans.

What prompted some European powers to speed up Yugoslavia's disintegration? Was it the civil war and the bloodshed that accompanied it? Was it a desire to suppress a seat of violence dangerously close to their frontiers? Was it the revived instinct to recarve the world and fight for spheres of influence? It seems that we are all under the

spell of the Franco-German alliance and believe that this has erased the idea of a "struggle for spheres of influence" from the European vocabulary. Were we hasty to forget about the resiliency of the "old" politics aimed at pursuing conflicting interests in Third World?

In the cold-war age, the West as a community could not afford similar contradictions: more often than not they took on the form of a battle for markets. Are there hints of old political stimuli? In a way, the touching Western unity of the cold-war age was a leap forward away from conflicts. Integration embraced the world's Western segment. It was forced on the West by the Soviet threat. Today when there is no fear, Western politics has begun slowly drifting backwards. France and Germany are trying to outpace each other in the rush for spheres of influence in Yugoslavia. The liberated Soviet provinces both in the outer, East European, and the inner, Soviet, rings are looking at them with hope. So far Washington has not joined the race, though some people (Kissinger and Brzezinski among them) urge the US to stake out spheres of influence.

There is another opportunity that makes one's mouth water – re-division of the spheres of influence in the former Soviet geopolitical space. Will the integration's civilized mentality (born by the cold war) resist this temptation?

One more circumstance should be taken into account. While the West vassilates, three Muslim powers – Turkey, Iran and Pakistan – have opened a race for influence in the post-Soviet Muslim republics. So far Turkey's chances seem to be better – there is a Turkish community, while at the same time the model is accepted by the West and its integration with Europe captures imagination. Nothing is clear yet: the inner political processes in the post-Soviet Muslim states are taking momentum. The wave has just reached Kazakhstan.

Will the Turkish model appeal to new public sentiments that will inevitably appear in the Muslim part of the former Soviet Union? Is Turkey rich enough to prop up its moral authority? Disintegration of the Soviet Union has raised Turkey's international status. Iran and Pakistan, in their turn, are pursuing the same goal. While the battle for spheres of influence is unfolding in the former Soviet Muslim world, can the Western powers restrain themselves from seeking a preferential status in other parts of Soviet geopolitical space? This might become a stumbling block on the road towards West European and Western integration. History knows no direct analogies – more likely than not a wrangle over the spheres of influence in the Balkans will never trigger another European or world war. Still, it may prove too much for Western unity. In this case we can expect a totally new geopolitical situation in Eurasia.

Witness Siberian separatism

Japan stands apart in this arrangement – here again the cold war is to blame for this unnatural situation not found in mankind's previous experience. There was a shared optimism at the sight of a Japan that for many years was satisfied with the status of an economic superpower not propped up by a corresponding political and military status. In fact, Japan abandoned part of its sovereignty in favour of the United States.

Drawing by the Guardian (Great Britain)

Indeed, a mighty power might find this very much to its advantage – to be removed as far as possible from political conflicts and political games in general. A bit simplified Japanese postwar foreign policy boiled down to standing to its guns in the territorial dispute with the USSR and rather feeble attempts to outline its role in the Southeast Asian political scene. How will events develop? Will Japan prefer to stick to its status that is objectively progressive but unnatural in the context of the history of international relations? Or will it opt for foreign political and later military independence? In fact, Japan's economic potential makes the military levers superfluous. The country has entered the age of decision-making: there is no military threat (a Chinese threat can be disregarded) and no need for the American military umbrella.

The Soviet geopolitical zone is disintegrating still further, with the Far Eastern (and even Siberian) separatism being increasingly vocal. It seems quite natural for Japan to extend its economic power over the sea.

There is great probability that the powers which in the past distinguished themselves in the traditional political game (that was fighting for the spheres of influence) are making a comeback from Eurasia's western and eastern fringes.

The United States (or the American empire as a special type of an empire) has managed to turn the non-Soviet and non-Chinese parts of the world into its exclusive sphere of influence. And this despite the attempts of European mavericks like de Gaulle. Today this zone is rapidly shrinking: Europe's detachment is highly probable; Japan's detachment as well as the independent attempts by some European countries to look for spheres of influence are possible. The process under way in the Third World will probably undermine American might still further.

The vacuum of power

The three Muslim centres on the Soviet fringes have gained strength but there are other circumstances. It is doubtful that the Muslim world will retain even the present level of stability. With the Soviet Islamic seas flowing back to the Muslim ocean it has to distance itself from the secular development model. It has to rely more on religion as a social organizing force. This zone is not free of conflicts (the struggle for spheres of influence in the Muslim world of the Middle East goes on unabated). One can imagine integrational Muslim processes that will not necessarily proceed peacefully.

The disappearance of the USSR left a vacuum of power in the rest of the Third World; today the Americans are less inclined to indiscriminatedly support any non-pro-Soviet regime. It seems that the Third World as a whole detaches itself from the world of the great powers. It is unlikely that European or Far Eastern centres of power will show considerable interest in the regions more or less new in the political sense (here we can safely ignore the colonial empires' experience). What will come out of this? Will there be conflicts over regional hegemony? Will the Third World close their ranks in the face of the North? These processes can go hand in hand.

The post-communist world and China that will join it in a not so distant future is a major unknown factor in this alignment of forces. What role will the countries that emerged on the Soviet ruins play in the future? There are at least three possibilities.

First, a joint fight for survival in the economic, military and the cultural-legal sphere that would mean further development of the CIS. This means a good form for a collective centre of power in Eurasia that will be strong enough to be considered a world centre. This forecast leaves no independent geopolitical role for Eastern Europe and brakes or stops altogether the redistribution of spheres of influence.

The second variant presupposes peaceful parallel efforts to survive but it is less realistic. In case it does take place, we shall witness the South, a kind of a Third World, looking for a rich patron. More likely than not Eastern Europe will join the former Soviet, rather than the West European, geopolitical space.

According to the third variant, permanent conflicts will make the chances for individual survival very slim indeed. It is probable and will almost inevitably bring a division of the Soviet territory into spheres of influence. In this case Eastern Europe will be doomed to be a cordon sanitaire. The dangerous Eastern region will reduce to naught all the benefits of Western aid.

Today, China's future role is rather vague: old China is doomed; until we know the exact forms of communist disintegration in this country we cannot define its role in the future world order. If the present trends continue (introduction of market relations, with the Communist Party retaining its power and being involved in the market, through corruption among other things), the Communist Party will lose its communist nature. While remaining at the helm, it will acquire the traditional traits of contemporary eastern authoritarianism like Taiwan and Singapore. After gaining stability, China will carry on its economic advance. It will make use of its unique status as a great power of the South. (It might be shattered by Russia emerging on the scene.) It seems that in the near future China will not be able to have its say in international relations.

If communist disintegration turns into a landslide and spreads to China (though the process will hardly resemble that of the Soviet Union), the country will be destined to follow in the footsteps of the present Soviet geopolitical area.

No matter how much we feel exposed today to the sharp winds of nationalism, we should always bear in mind that they are normal in the history we know. The period of cold war stability was nothing more than a lull. The unity of the world, each part of which is equally exposed to seismic waves emanating from a powerful epicentre, is a reality. The unity of the world is ensured by the shared dependence on technology and technological progress whether in nuclear weapons (that can proliferate), atomic power stations (that are prone to accidents and are vulnerable in the face of terrorism) or in ecology in the broadest sense of the word.

A blow to cosmopolitism

As can be expected, cosmpolitism was one of the victims. In the West, it reached maturity after the Second World War and embraced the entire American sphere of influence. It affected the communist world as well – the values of liberalism and international culture (as opposed to totalitarianism and eulogizing the mediocre in the national) penetrated both the iron and bamboo curtains. Cosmopolitism tied together an opposition to the communist regimes (explicit and also covert opposition, the fifth column of liberalism) and the West. This allowed spiritually free people under totalitarianism to feel themselves citizens of the world. Today nationalism triumphs in the post-totalitarian countries – even the liberals are leaning towards nationalism. (One should not blame them – an alternative is national totalitarianism.) Even in the West the prospects of cosmopolitism are vague – it is not yet clear whether it will hold its positions, develop further rather than yield to nationalism.

The techtonic fissures are glaring, yet they should not be regarded as a tragedy – one can live side by side with them. History has not known a more or less lengthy stretch of uneventful development. We should not delude ourselves – we are not living in a rational age.

Konstantin Pleshakov

Peacemaking through arms

Peacemaking forces helped settle the conflict in South Ossetia. But might the "neutral" forces get drawn into the hostilities, here or in other "hot spots"?
Photo by ITAR-TASS

Why do peacemaking operations fail?

Opening the new political season after the summer vacations, one has to begin with the statement that the unification of Europe has failed.

The new demarcation line ran through the hot spots of conflicts, separating the happy Europeans from those who suddenly found themselves on one of the "conflicting sides." The unpreparedness of Europe for new challenges lurking in the surge of post-socialist nationalism was evident as early as a year ago when confrontation in Yugoslavia grew into a civil war.

Inviolable borders?

The necessity to find common European solutions to the problems of militant nationalism seemed obvious. The unique Helsinki forum which guaranteed equal participation in the creation of universal stabilization mechanisms to all was quite welcome. Europe turned its face to the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, but the institutions of the CSCE, amorphous from the very outset, cracked under the burden of overrated expectations.

It's too easy to state that the long-expected Helsinki-2 summit was abortive. It's much more important to find out why the Conflict Prevention Centre, created as early as November 1990, didn't activate and why the powers of the recently instituted post of the High Commissioner for National Minorities are so limited?

One of the explanations is, of course, furnished by the windening of the circle of participants in common European structures, which was accomplished with the best of intentions. Incidentally, all 15 heirs to the late USSR were admitted to them. Later it turned out that Iceland's and Turkmenia's understanding of human rights may be considerably different, while 50-odd opinions can be reduced to one only at the expense of exclusion of all disputable (including the most reasonable) suggestions. At the same time, the absence of a European Security Council authorized to make decisions binding on all practically dooms all compromises to vapidity.

This explanation is correct, though insufficient. An effective settlement of conflicts is only possible on condition of working out one political formula uniting two Helsinki principles which have become apparently contradictory – the inviolability of borders and the right to self-determination.

Until recently the "golden rule" of territorial integrity has remained the basic principle of the European security system, because almost every state has disputable borders and regions struck by the virus of separatism.

However, many of today's politicians come to realize that no sanctions can make Serbs, Croats nor Moslems live in the unitary Bosnia. The blood shed there has separated them once and for all. (Among our domestic proofs of this hypothesis is Karabakh, the Dniester Region and Ossetia; Abkhazia has replenished the list.)

Each precedent inevitably entails a change in the norms of international law, and it's important to make this spontaneous process controllable. It was possible to reach a consensus on the key element of the new formula at the London Conference on Yugoslavia: the inadmissibility of changing any borders in Europe by **force** (!). However, politicians were unable to go any further, whereas without a concensus on the mechanisms for peacefully correcting the demarcation of borders all peacemaking operations will remain no more than a palliative. Perhaps, this is why the UN's traditional efforts proved more practical in Yugoslavia (leaving aside the question of the justifiability of sanctions).

NATO too weak to afford military operations

The word "paecemaking" has been no doubt a most widely used one in the vocabulary of North Atlantic politicians.

The North Atlantic Alliance is living through a deep crisis, its military machine and powerful bureaucracy having to prove anew their necessity and ability to rebuff new challenges to security.

The chances to assume new functions are open to the Alliance only in the East, but not at all by means of expanding the zone of responsibility or admitting new members. The development of a multilateral military and political cooperation has become the major direction of NATO's expansion in the East. Brussels has more than once given to understand that Russia may count on the status of a privileged NATO partner, but these signals have failed to be received due to the chaos involved in creating a Russian army, while the new leadership of the Defence Ministry and the General Staff treat them with demonstrative distrust.

The North Atlantic Cooperation Council created along with the disintegration of the Soviet Union accepted as its members all successors to the USSR and by virtue of this alone it couldn't count on becoming highly efficient, just like CSCE. After the formal settling of problems connected with the distribution of obligations of the late USSR, concerning the most important disarmament agreements, the original objectives of the new Council appeared in a way to be exhausted. Now the NATO leadership tries to extend its functions in such a way as to make it a stable "bridge" between the Alliance and CSCE. Only the common European Conference can issue a mandate for peacemaking actions in which the NATO military machine can have a role.

It seemed that the Alliance had everything necessary for large-scale peacemaking actions, and the military planning bodies got down to work with enthusiasm. Yugoslavia was naturally chosen as the test site, especially as a conflict in this country had traditionally appeared in NATO's crisis scenarios as one of the most likely fuses of a direct confrontation with the Warsaw Pact.

Yet even the elementary operation of delivering humanitarian aid with military escorts to Sarajevo and the Moslem enclave turned out, according to NATO estimates, rather costly and risky.

NATO experts believe that the formation of a stable escort requires an entire infantry battalion, 15 to 20 pieces of armoured cars and an air support. Even an optimum scenario (i.e., without involvement in hostilities) requires deployment of up to two reinforced airborne divisions and several bases for logistics, administration and liaison. When the United States declared at last that it intended to limit its participation to air support from aircraft carriers and that all the burden and hazards of prolonged ground operations are for the European allies to deal with, the enthusiasm of the NATO leaders faded.

The Russian army as a fire brigade

The restrained and (perhaps, even unduly) cautious approach of NATO to peacemaking operations is in sharp contrast with their organization in the conflict-stricken geopolitical space of the former USSR.

On the one hand, armed conflicts in the "immediate abroad" objectively become a major challenge to Russia's security, threatening to spread to her territory and entailing a many-million-strong stream of refugees. On the other, there is a growing attitude in public opinion that it is necessary to put an end (even by force, if necessary) to the senseless bloodshed and ravage of lands, which one can't simply qualify as "foreign territories." There is also a third aspect, the interests of the army. The new ambitious leadership of the Defence Ministry and the General Staff aspire not only to restore the shattered prestige, but also to promote their own variant of the military reform focused on the creation of rapid deployment forces.

The peacemaking operations seemed to give them a possibility to achieve all these tasks. The deployment of "limited contingents" which ensured the cease-fire in the Dniester Region and in South Ossetia could be only applauded if the military initiative backed and not replaced political decisions. In fact, both conflicts turned out to be "frozen" (just like in Cyprus where the UN blue helmets separated the Turkish and Greek communities). The Russian peacemaking battalions simply halt the secession of the riotous regions from sovereign Moldova and Georgia, while the conflict as such continues to brew. At a certain moment the "neutral" troops may become involved in hostilities. One can only rejoice in the light of such a scenario that Moscow wasn't quick enough to send peacemaking forces to Tajikistan, on which Marshal Shaposhnikov and President Nabiyev had agreed literally on the eve of the new outburst of violence.

The conclusion suggests itself that in the case of all European conflicts, peacemaking operations not backed by political decisions not only fail to bring about a settlement, they are fraught with the danger of further escalating the tension. Is it a mere coincidence that open military aggression spread to Bosnia and Abkhazia after peacemaking forces secured a cease-fire in Croatia and Ossetia?

Pavel Bayev

Neo-Paganism and the myth of a golden age

"The genuine Aryans are Russians, the great Russian civilization emerged a thousand years before Christ," claim some Russian nationalists who reject Orthodoxy

One central demand of the new Russian nationalism concerns the crucial role of the Orthodox Church. As Koshelev (the editor of Slavophile magazines and an author of the agrarian reform of 1861 – **Ed.**) reminded his fellow Slavophiles almost one hundred and fifty yearg ago, "without orthodoxy our *narodnost* is mere rubbish." A few nationalists admit that they were not religious believers, or, more likely, would simply refrain from commenting on religion.

On the other hand, not all religious believers subscribe to a nationalist ideology. And lastly there were some, especially among the extreme Right, who turned against Christianity and propagated instead a pagan religion which had allegedly been practised in Russia's distant past.

New Times continues to publish chapters from a book on the extreme Right in Russia by an American historian and political scientist due to be published in the USA next year. The previous installment was devoted to views on foreign politics by domestic nationalists (No. 38/92).

The story told by Firebird

Very little is known about Russia's pre-Christian past but this did not deter some nationalists: They freely use myths and even outright forgeries. Such practices are not unknown in the history of other peoples: Ossian's Scottish poetry agitated all of Europe towards the end of the 18th century; it had been written by Macpherson, a Scotsman who pretended that it dated back to the ancient history of Ireland and Scotland. The Czech had their Königinhofer manuscript, allegedly a thousand years old but manufactured in fact by a 19th century patriot. It needed a man of the stature of Masaryk to expose the forgery. The German S.S. had a special department called *Ahnenerbe* systematically collecting (and manufacturing) evidence about the splendour of pagan Germany.

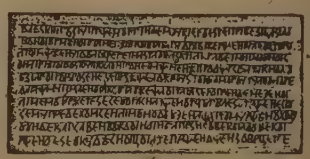
Similar forgeries became fashionable in certain Russian nationalist circles and the most famous of these was the *Book of Vlas*. The existence of this document was first made known in 1953 in an obscure San Francisco journal called *Zhar-Ptitsa* (Firebird). It announced that before the advent of Christians there had been a great civilization in Russia dating back to about 1000 B.C. and the *Book of Vlas* was said to be the Chronicle of pagan priests dealing with the exploits of the dynasties ruling then Russia named Bravlin, Skoten, Svetoyar, Oleg and Igor the oldest. They allegedly fought the Varagians, Byzantium and above all the Khazars who had adopted Judaism.

Unfortunately, the original document no longer existed, it had been in the possession of a colonel named Izenbeck, and had been copied by a friend before its disappearance in Nazi-occupied Belgium in World War II. In 1957 an ex-Russian then living in Australia sent a copy of the book (or rather the fragment of a book) to the Soviet Academy in Moscow. The circumstances of the discovery were suspect, to put it mildly, and the Moscow experts having examined it, said that there was no doubt in their mind. It was a forgery, probably produced by A.I. Sulekadzev who had lived in the early 19th century, a specialist in forgeries – one of which, incidentally, had been called the Song of Vlas. Others thought that the forgery was of more recent date and was the work of a certain Yuri Mirolyubov, a chemist and amateur historian from Kiev, who had left the city with the retreating Germans in 1944.

A Komsomol member gets down to work

With this the story should have rested, but almost twenty years later it was taken up by V. Skurlatov who in a series of articles went well beyond the original claims of the book of Vlas. According to his interpretation, the Russians were the descendants of Aryans (or rather "Oriyans"). They had come from India and Central Asia about 1000 B.C. Thus the Russians were the first Indo-European or Indo-Aryan people, through the Phoenicians all European culture had come from them. *Vlas* was given wide publicity in leading Soviet journals (albeit popular ones, not those written by and for specialists), it was hailed as a priceless monument of world culture, a pinnacle of the creativity of the Russian folk.

Drawing by Marat Tairov



A fragment of the *Book of Vlas*

Behind the promotion campaign of the *Book of Vlas* was one individual who on and off has played an important role in the recent history of the ultra-nationalist camp, Valeri Skurlatov. He became first known in the 1960s when he distributed among Komsomol leaders and activists of the Moscow party executive a document called "A Code of Morals," which called for the branding and sterilizing of Russian women who had sexual intercourse with foreigners. He also demanded the preparing of the young generation for the "mortal struggle" ahead connected with the cosmic mission of the Russian people. Skurlatov suggested corporal punishment for young people disobeying his "code" and he also noted in passing that there was no baser occupation than that of a thinker and intellectual.

Skurlatov's suggestions caused a minor scandal, he was excluded from the Communist party but his career suffered no lasting harm. Within ten years he was back in the public eye as a doctor of history, a title much more infrequently bestowed in Russia than in the West, the author of a book on "Zionism and Apartheid." But his main assignment during these years was to popularize *Vlas* under his own name and various pseudonyms.

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

"Pamyat" long before "Pamyat"

The main intention behind this exercise was not just to show that a great Russian culture had existed thousands of years before such a civilization had arisen elsewhere; Skurlatov also wanted to demonstrate that the Russians were the Aryan people par excellence, that they were a race of supermen who had practised a cult of warriors and at the same time excelled in virtually all fields of cultural endeavours. They were the light bearers, forever fighting the forces of darkness.

Skurlatov was not successful in persuading the historians, but he spread his gospel through novelists such as Chivilikhin whose very long novel-essay *Pamyat* (Memory) was published in millions of copies in the 1970s and early 1980s. It dealt with the Aryan origins of the Russian people. There was a determined effort by influential circles to give the widest circulation to this book, which had few literary merits and was no joy to read except for agreat enthusiasts. Skuslatov had also some success among the writers of science fiction, a very popular genre in the Soviet Union. A dozen stories and novels were published between 1976 and 1985 which it one way or another took up the ideas propagated by Skurlatov.

The lunatic asylum brings up pagans

This campaign was by no means a private initiative pursued by an eccentric. Skurlatov found considerable support among the fraternity of antisemitologists; one of the most prominent, Korneyev, wrote that only Jews and those under their influence would disbelieve the message of the *Book of Vlas*. Another expert named Yemelyanov declared in 1974 that while the Old Testament was essentially fascist, the New Testament, at least in part acted as a corrective. Yemelyanov had started his career like Korneyev and other anti-Zionists at the Institute of Oriental studies. (Korneyev was by profession a specialist in Malgassy literature). Yemelyanov's work was interrupted for a number of years; he murdered his wife and dismembered her body. We shall deal with his subsequent career later on. When he was released from a mental institution in the late 1980s his advocacy of paganism had become outspoken and radical. A bitter attack in the form of an open letter to the head of the Orthodox Church provoked anger among some of his erstwhile comrades-in-arms.

In 1991 some mouthpieces of the extreme Right published excerpts from Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, the Bible of Nazi anti-Christianism. Such frankness was laudable inasmuch as it recognized an intellectual debt which earlier on had not been acknowledged. But it involved the Russian neo-paganists in all kinds of inconsistencies, since it was not easy to combine elements of Leninism with Nazi ideology. To provide but one illustration: *Istoki*, the organ of one of the extremist groups published in 1991 an editorial by V. Prishchepenko, a well-known Moscow neo-Bolshevik, under the title *The witch hunt has come under way!* Prishchepenko had acquired a certain reputation in the 1970s as a supporter of Skurlatov; he was the author of a study in which he maintained that there had been a pre-Christian Russian Order of Knights well in advance of Western medieval Knighthood.

But Prishchepenko had remained a Bolshevik at heart and in his 1991 article he compared the Yeltsin witch hunt with Hitler's in 1933 following the burning of the Reichstag. Hitler, it was said, was a mason, a lackey of the banker Mendelsohn and the worst enemy of the Russian people. Yet page 3 of the same journal was devoted to a speech by Goebbels on "The theory and practice of Bolshevism" at the 1936 Nuremberg party congress. If Hitler was the worst enemy of the Russian people, Goebbels was apparently a good friend – and the last page

of the same journal was devoted to excerpts from the *Book of Vlas*...

Nestor was mistaken?

The appearance of this and similar forgeries (myths, in more polite language), should not have come as a surprise: it runs like a red thread through the ideological history of the extreme Right, from the *Protocols* to the *Book of Vlas*. Is it a powerful myth? There are reasons for doubt, because the national idea in Russia has been closely connected with Christianity and from a political point of view a frontal attack was unwise, to say the least. Hitler disliked the church but was treading very carefully dealing with it. Mussolini, though not a believer, always tried to be on good terms with the Vatican. But the appearance of Aryan neo-paganism did show that not all Russian nationalists were Christian believers and that at least some of them derived their inspiration from very different sources.

Why the need for this pagan myth? This takes us back to the debate about Russia's national origins which has been raging for a long time not only between those specializing in early medieval history. According to the Nestor Chronicle, the Slav tribes of Kievan Rus had invited the Germanic Varangians from Scandinavia to be their princes: "Our land is great and rich, but there is no order in it. Come and rule over us!"

This, if correct, would have been an almost unique case without parallel in the history of humanity in the words of Karamzin, the first major Russian historian. Some of the Slavophiles explained it with reference to the democratic feeling and lack of national prejudices of the early Russians.

However, the very idea that foreigners were needed to restore order in the Russian house cannot have been a pleasant one for Russian patriots; hence the dispute of long standing between Normanists and anti-Normanists, those rejecting this unpatriotic version of early Russian history.

The ethnic origin of the Slavs has not just been a historical issue but a highly charged political question. Some of the Slavophiles tended to discover Slavonic influences in all ages and all over the globe and Dostoyevsky in his pre-Slovophile period wrote about Khomyakov that he would prove irrefutably that Adam too was a Slav who lived in Russia. The propagation of the *Book of Vlas* is a belated and grotesque example of a tradition which goes back for a long time.

Walter Laqueur

LONDON

In the next issue:
The Russian extreme Right and black magic. Occult sciences, works by Mme Blavatsky, and nationalists.

Our Aryans and Hyperboreans

"Talking about economic achievements of the Third Reich and cultural achievements National Socialism brought to the world is not customary today for some reason or other," writes Sergey Zharikov, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Zhirinovsky's Hawk* in its first and so far only issue. Indeed, it is not customary in the country where German National Socialists killed 20 million people.

However, even this became possible in Russia after Sergei Zharikov, the leader of the rock group DK engaged in historical research. The editor's article in *Zhirinovsky's Hawk* is followed by a two-page publication *Theoretical Fundamentals of National Socialism*, an educational text on Russian national socialism to instruct the members of the party...

"The Fuhrer undertook 'Drang nach Osten' because he had forgotten that the Germans were the same Russo-Slavonians subjected to Latinization in the times of Charles the Great... Russia is the successor state to the ancient Hyperborea," Zharikov tells his readers. "Germany is our main ally today and our future, because we are united with Germans by both Blood and Soil, the two most important principles of making unions... The united North will rise under the sign of the swastika, the holy fire, the symbol common to all Aryan tribes..."

Zhirinovsky appointed Zharikov "the minister of culture and youth in the Russian national government."

Subsequently the newspaper *Den* also devoted to Zharikov half a page of enthusiastic words. Since the rock musician-minister-editor is also a poet, the paper published a collection of his verses as well, including an anti-Semitic verse called "The year '37" in which this tragic year for Russia is called "long-awaited."

Recently the Ministry of Justice recognized as illegal the registration of Zhirinovsky's party. He successfully enlisted "non-persons" in his ranks, which may be laughed at, if so desired. However, he also has a real team who admire successes made by the Third Reich and deem themselves genuine Aryans.

Vladimir Zhirinovsky

Sergei Zharikov, a "shadow minister"

Marina Jeksenbayeva,
a member of the Moscow anti-fascist centre

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DOSSIER

STATE TAXATION SERVICE OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
March 20, 1992; No. 8

INSTRUCTIONS ON APPLICATION OF THE LAW OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION "ON INCOME TAX ON INDIVIDUALS"

Continued from No.38

9. Income calculated with due regard for provisions spelled out in Item 8 hereof shall additionally be reduced by amounts not exceeding for each full month, during which the income was received, the legally established amount of the minimum monthly pay multiplied by five for the following individuals:

(a) Heroes of the Soviet Union, persons awarded the Order of Glory of all three classes;

(b) participants in the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars and in combat operations to defend the USSR from among servicemen, who served in military units, staffs and institutions that were part of active forces, and World War II resistance fighters;

(c) civilian employees of the Soviet Army and Navy and of the Interior Ministry and state security services of the USSR on the payroll of military units, staffs and institutions that were part of active forces during the Great Patriotic War, or persons, who during that time lived in cities, the participation in whose defence is regarded as contribution towards the length of service, thus making the person eligible for a pension on privileged terms offered to servicemen of active-force units;

(d) invalids:

of the Great Patriotic War;

from among servicemen, who became disabled as a result of a wound, shellshock or injury received when defending the USSR or performing some other military duty or as a consequence of a disease connected with their stay at the front, from among World War II resistance fighters and from among other categories of invalids treated for pension purposes as if they belonged to the said categories of servicemen;

from among civil servants, who became disabled as a consequence of an injury or any other health impairment sustained when performing official duties and were given a lump-sum government allowance in keeping with established procedures;

those in respect of whom a causal relationship was established between their disablement and the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant or other radiation accidents at civilian or military nuclear facilities, and those, who became disabled as a result of tests, training exercises or other operations associated with any kind of nuclear installation, including nuclear weapons and space equipment; and

invalids since childhood and those in the first and second disability categories;

(e) those, who developed or went through radiation sickness or other ailments associated with radiation exposure as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant and other radiation accidents at civilian or military nuclear facilities, and also as a result of tests, training exercises or other operations associated with any kind of nuclear installation, including nuclear weapons and space equipment;

MOSCOW BUSINESS WEEK

(f) those, who participated in the Chernobyl clean-up effort within the exclusion zone in 1986-1987;

(g) those evacuated from and those who left voluntarily the exclusion zone in 1986 in the wake of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant accident; and

(h) those, who were in Leningrad at the time of its blockade during the Great Patriotic War from September 8, 1941 to January 27, 1944 (irrespective of the length of stay).

The right to the privilege specified in this item shall be confirmed by appropriate documents (a Hero of the Soviet Union certificate, an order certificate, a Great Patriotic War invalid's certificate, a disabled person's certificate for the right to privileges, a disabled person's special certificate, a certificate of a participant in the Great Patriotic War, a special-form certificate, a pension certificate, a certificate from a military registration and enlistment office, and a certificate issued by an industrial-injury commission of experts.)

10. Income calculated with due regard for provisions spelled out in item 8 hereof shall be additionally reduced by the amount of income not exceeding for each full month, during which the income was received, the legally established amount of the minimum monthly pay multiplied by three for the following individuals:

(a) the parents and spouses of servicemen, who died as a result of a wound, shellshock or injury received when defending the USSR or performing some other

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military duty, or as a consequence of a disease connected with their stay at the front, and the parents and spouses of civil servants killed when performing official duties.

The privilege shall be granted on the basis of a pension certificate stamped "widow (widower, mother, father) of killed serviceman" or containing an appropriate inscription certified by the signature of the head of the institution that issued the certificate and by the seal of such institution.

If the said persons are not pensioners, the privilege shall be granted to them on the basis of a certificate of the death of a serviceman or civil servant, issued by appropriate state bodies.

To the spouses of servicemen, who were killed when defending the USSR or Russian Federation or when performing some other military duty or who died as a result of a disease connected with their stay at the front, and also to the spouses of civil servants killed when performing official duties, the privilege shall be granted only if they have not entered a second marriage;

(b) servicemen and reservists called up for training assemblies and musters, who performed internationalist duty in the Republic of Afghanistan or other countries, in which hostilities were under way.

The privilege shall be granted on the basis of a document for the right to privileges and a certificate issued by a district military registration and enlistment office, a military unit, a military training center, an enterprise, institution or organization of the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR State Security Committee (KGB), the USSR Ministry of the Interior and other appropriate bodies of the Russian Federation;

(c) one of the parents (by their choice), the spouse, guardian or trustee, who maintains an invalid since childhood or an invalid in the first disability category living with him/her and needing constant attendance.

The privilege shall be granted on the basis of a pension certificate, decisions of bodies of guardianship and trusteeship, a medical certificate from health authorities confirming the need for constant attendance, and a housing-authority certificate of joint residence.

11. For individuals not indicated in items 9 and 10 of this Article, income calculated with due regard for provisions spelled out in item 8 of these Instructions shall be additionally reduced by the amount of income not exceeding for each full month, during which the income was received, the legally established minimum monthly pay.

Servicemen, officers and men of the Interior Ministry services of the Russian Federation, and the categories of individuals equated with them shall be exempted from taxes on monetary allowances, cash bonuses and other payments received by them in connection with their service.

Income received by such persons from their performance of work not connected with their service shall be assessed pursuant to the general terms. Such income shall be reduced only by the amount of spending on the upkeep of children and dependents within the limits of the legally established minimum monthly pay if the spouse of the serviceman/servicewoman does not already enjoy such rebate.

Example 1. An employee of an enterprise, who was a participant in the Great Patriotic War, draws a monthly pay of Rbs2,500 (the minimum monthly pay – Rbs342). In such case, his aggregate assessable income for each month he works shall be Rbs790 (2,500 – /342 × 5/).

Example 2. An employee of an enterprise, who took part in hostilities in Afghanistan, draws a monthly pay of Rbs2,500 (the minimum monthly pay –Rbs342). In such case, his aggregate assessable income for each month he works shall be Rbs1,474 (2,500 – /342 × 3/).

Example 3. An employee of an enterprise draws a monthly pay of Rbs2,500 (the minimum monthly pay – Rbs342). In such case, his aggregate assessable income for each month he works shall be Rbs2,158 (2,500 – 342).

12. If an individual has the right to an income reduction simultaneously on several counts covered by Items 9, 10 and 11 hereof, deductions from the aggregate income for each full month, during which it was received, shall be made on the count calling for the larger reduction of assessable income.

Example. A Hero of the Soviet Union, who also was a participant in hostilities in Afghanistan, draws Rbs4,500 in monthly pay at his regular place of work (the minimum monthly pay – Rbs342). In such case, the employee is entitled to a tax rebate on two counts – one amounting to the legally established minimum monthly pay multiplied by five and the other amounting to the legally established minimum monthly pay multiplied by three. In income tax assessment, the larger reduction (the minimum monthly pay multiplied by five) of taxable income shall be invoked and the aggregate assessable income for each month such employee works shall then be Rbs2,790 (4,500 – /342 × 5/).

13. Regardless of provisions spelled out in Items 8, 9, 10 and 11 hereof, the aggregate income received by individuals shall further be reduced by:

a) the amounts of assessable income transferred, at individuals' request, for charitable purposes and also to enterprises, institutions and organizations of culture, education, public health and social welfare that are partially or fully financed out of the budget.

Example. An employee of an enterprise with a monthly income of Rbs1,500 filed a request with the enterprise's accounting department to send Rbs200 to a children's boarding school every month. In such case, his aggregate monthly income shall be Rbs1,300 (1,500 – 200).

Contributions to meet purposes listed in this Subitem out of individuals' assessable income shall be deducted from the assessable income in amounts not exceeding the sum total of income assessed in taxation for the appropriate calendar year. In such case, the ground for exclusion from assessable income shall be a document (receipt, remittance and the like) indicating the amounts of contributions and the purposes for which they were made.

(b) The amounts of spending on the upkeep of children and dependents within the legally established amount of the minimum monthly pay for each full month, during which the income was received:

– for each child under 18 years of age;
– for full-time students under 24; and

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– for each other dependent not having a source of income of his own regardless of whether he resides together with his supporter or not.

For the purposes of tax rebates, students shall be understood to mean full-time students of higher, specialized secondary, and vocational-training schools, primary, incomplete secondary and secondary schools, and theological schools.

The aggregate income shall be reduced by the amounts of spending on the upkeep of children and full-time students regardless of whether they have their own sources of income – scholarships, earnings, etc. – or whether they reside together with their parents or not.

If a student has his own family, spending on the upkeep of the student spouses shall be taken into account in the case of each of their parents. The children of such students (grandchildren) shall not be taken into account in the expenses of their grandfather and grandmother. Upon graduation from a school in a calendar year by a student under 24 years of age, deductions for his upkeep from the parents' assessable income shall cease from the month following the month of graduation.

The income reduction for taxation purposes shall be made for one of the parents in a registered wedlock (spouses) by their choice. If the marriage was dissolved, the income reduction by the amount of spending on the upkeep of children shall be made for the parent with whom the children reside. If either of the parents is unemployed, the reduction shall be made for the other provided that supplementary documents are presented to confirm that income-tax reductions for these children are not made for other persons.

In the case of parents whose children are cadets, such spending shall be deducted until the cadets reach the age of 18.

Deductions of spending on the upkeep of children and dependents from assessable income shall be made until the end of the year, in which the children reached the age of 18 years and the students 24 years, and also in the event of the death of the children or dependents.

Assessable-income reductions for individuals shall be made from the month of birth of a child or the appearance of a dependent.

With a reduction in the number of dependents (except for the cases of death) or independent sources of income becoming available to them in the course of a year, subtractions for their upkeep shall be stopped from the month following that in which the number of dependents decreased or an independent source of income became available to them.

Dependents shall be understood to mean persons maintained by an individual and not having independent sources of income, either in kinship with such individual or not.

In particular, dependents shall include women on maternity leave to take care of a child until it reaches a specified age, who do not have income other than monthly allowances and compensation payments received in legally established amounts.

For the purposes of applying this Law, the category of dependents shall not include:

– persons (except children) receiving scholarships, pensions or unemployment benefits;

– persons maintained by the state (vocational-training school students and children at children's and infants' homes); and

– students of special schools and children placed in boarding houses, for whose upkeep the guardians are not charged anything, and also in boarding schools fully provided for by the state.

Individuals, for whose upkeep an addition was awarded when fixing the size of a pension, shall be regarded as dependents of only those individuals, to whom this addition was awarded.

14. Reductions in assessable income for individuals by the amount of expenses on the upkeep of children and dependents shall be made on the basis of:

(a) in the case of those having a child (children);

– a written application by either parent, filed with the accounting department of the enterprise where he or she holds his or hers regular job, in which the applicant says that his/her spouse does not enjoy this privilege (in accordance with the format specified in Attachment No. 2 hereto);

– a certificate from the other spouse's place of regular work to the effect that the amounts of expenses on the children are not subtracted from his/her pay;

– a copy of the birth certificate for the child (children) or data from the personnel department of the enterprise, institution or organization about whether the employee has children or not; and

– a certificate from the educational establishment that the child (children) study there full-time;

(b) in the case of those having dependents: – certificates from the appropriate housing-management authority or the executive body of the township or village Council of People's Deputies, or, in the case of individuals living in urban areas in houses belonging to them by right of private ownership – a document certified by the street (neighborhood) committee chairman in accordance with the format specified in Attachment No. 3 hereto.

In the case of dependents not residing together with the individuals providing for them, such individuals shall present a certificate from the Council of People's Deputies at the dependent's place of residence that he does not have independent sources of income, and that he is dependent on such individuals. Wherever appropriate, the fact of dependency shall be established by a court decision.

15. Individuals shall present the applications and certificates specified in Item 14 above to their regular place of work (service, study) before the payment to them of their wage/salary for the first half of January of the following year, and with a change in the family composition and the number of dependents, no later than on the 20th day of the month following such change. Individuals, whose income tax is assessed by tax agencies, shall be obligated to attach such certificates to their declarations of income. If no changes take place afterwards in the case of such individuals, the earlier submitted documents shall remain valid also for the subsequent years.

16. Applicants shall be liable in keeping with procedures established by legislation for the authenticity of the data submitted to

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win a reduction in assessable income by the amount of spending on the upkeep of children or dependents.

17. For individuals having income from their fulfilment of labour duties at enterprises, institutions and organizations, the reduction of taxable income by the amount of spending on the upkeep of children or dependents shall be made monthly by such enterprises, institutions and organizations.

Example. An employee permanently employed by an enterprise on the basis of a labor contract and drawing a monthly income of Rbs2,500 filed an application with the enterprise's accounting department for the subtraction of her assessable income of expenses of the upkeep of her five children aged under 18. The minimum monthly pay is Rbs342. In such case, her assessable income for each month she works shall stand at Rbs448 (2,500 − 342 − /342 × 5/).

For the rest of the individuals, the reduction of assessable income by the legally established amount of the minimum monthly pay and the amount of spending on the upkeep of children and dependents shall be made by tax agencies in tax assessment for the current year.

18. Income received in the current calendar year outside the Russian Federation by individuals permanently resident in the Russian Federation shall be included in their income subject to taxation in the Russian Federation.

The amounts of income tax paid outside the Russian Federation in accordance with the legislation of foreign states by individuals permanently resident in the Russian Federation − payers of tax in the Russian Federation − shall be set off as such individuals pay tax in the Russian Federation. But the size of the set-off amounts of tax paid outside the Russian Federation may not exceed the sum total of tax payable by such individuals in the Russian Federation.

Such offsetting may be done only if an individual submits a confirmation by the tax agency of the appropriate foreign state of his payment of tax outside the Russian Federation.

Example. An individual permanently resident in the Russian Federation received in the year reported on an author's fee of Rbs40,000. During the year tax levied on him at rates specified by the Law's Article 6 amounted to Rbs4,800. That same year, he received an author's fee from India, amounting to US$150 or Rbs15,000 (assuming that the exchange rate as of the date of income receipt was Rbs100 per US$1). In income payment in India a 15-percent tax was levied, amounting to US$22.5 or Rbs2,250. For the purposes of taxation in the Russian Federation, the individual shall be obligated to declare the total amount of the author's fees received both in the Russian Federation and from India. Upon presentation by the individual to the tax agency of a document confirming his payment of the tax in India, the tax subject to payment in the Russian Federation shall be assessed as follows: the year's aggregate income amounted to Rbs55,000 (Rbs40,000 in the Russian Federation and Rbs15,000 in India). The sum total of the tax assessed from the aggregate income at rates specified in the Law's Article 6 comes to Rbs6,990. In order to avoid double taxation, the tax paid in India shall be worked out, which may be set off in tax assessment in the Russian Federation. With this aim, the income received in India (Rbs15,000) shall be assessed using rates specified in the Law's Article 6; the tax on such income shall amount to Rbs1,800. Thus, the offsetting amount may not exceed Rbs1,800 (out of Rbs2,250). The final sum total of the tax to be paid in the Russian Federation shall be calculated as the difference between the amount of the tax assessed in the Russian Federation on the individual's aggregate income and the amount of the tax withheld from him in income payment in the Russian Federation and the tax subject to offsetting in order to avoid double taxation: Rbs6,990 − Rbs4,800 − Rbs1,800 = Rbs390.

19. If international treaties signed by the Russian Federation or the former USSR lay down other rules than those contained in the legislation of the Russian Federation on taxation, the rules of the international treaties shall apply.

20. Income tax on the assessable aggregate income received by individuals from all kinds of activity in a calendar year and from all sources shall be levied at the following rates:

Size of assessable aggregate received in calendar year	Amount of tax income
Up to 42,000 rubles	12% of income amount
From 42,001 to 84,000 rubles	5,040 rubles + 15% of sum exceeding 42,000 rubles
From 84,001 to 120,000 rubles	11,340 rubles + 20% of sum exceeding 84,000 rubles
From 120,001 to 180,000 rubles	18,540 rubles + 30% of sum exceeding 120,000 rubles
From 180,001 to 300,000 rubles	36,540 rubles + 40% of sum exceeding 180,000 rubles
From 300,001 to 420,000 rubles	84,540 rubles + 50% of sum exceeding 300,000 rubles
Over 420,001 rubles	144,540 rubles + 60% of sum exceeding 420,000 rubles

21. On the amounts of wage differentials and the amounts of length-of-service bonuses added to pay in accordance with legislation for work in areas of the Far North and localities equated to them, in high-mountain, desert and waterless areas and other localities with severe climatic conditions, tax shall be exacted only from the source of payment separately from other income at a rate of 12 percent.

If the sum total of subtractions by the legally established amounts of the minimum monthly pay and expenses on the upkeep of children and dependents exceeds the base wage and the combined pay together with the bonus and wage differentials exceed the sum total of such subtractions, tax shall be assessed on the sum total of the base wage, wage differentials and bonus.

Example. The earnings of an employee of an enterprise in the Far North, who has four children under 18 years of age, in January came to Rbs2,030, including the base wage of Rbs1,610, the length-of-service-in-the-Far-North bonus of Rbs210 and the wage differential of Rbs210 (minimum monthly pay stood at Rbs342). In such case, aggregate-income tax shall be assessed on an income of Rbs320 and amount to Rbs38.4 (2.030 − 342 − /(342 × 4) × 0.12/).

(To be continued)

Central Asia looks towards the East

Bishkek, the capital of Kyrghyzstan, has its own native Salman Rushdie. Poet Ernis Turchenov translated the Koran into Kyrghyz and upon its publishing he was accused by young Muslims of corrupting the Holy Writ. They held a meeting in the central square of Bishkek and demanded "Death to Turchenov!" The poet has been forced to go into hiding, making it impossible for me to talk with him.

In this case there is a feeling that orthodoxy has mixed with ordinary ignorance. Turchenov translated the Koran into Kyrghyz from Russian. Only few Kyrghyzes know Arabic and none of the young "fundamentalists," who insist on the literal truth of the Koran, know Arabic. So it turns out that the Koran in Russian serves them as its original text which obviously sounds like blasphemy.

Enter Sharia

Till now the Kyrghyzes have yet to abandon heathenism; for example, some of them worship the Sun. The Kyrghyzes, a nomadic people, relatively recently converted to Islam. Their observance of Islamic law had been slight even before the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. Communists tried to put an end to the "opium for the people" in all its manifestations. Now Kyrghyzes are striving to turn over a new leaf in an effort to become perfect and devout Muslims. It was decided to build a mosque in every Kyrghyz settlement, a decision which is being strictly carried out. Two months ago there was a disastrous earthquake in Kyrghyzstan, having left houses, schools, hospitals and other buildings in ruins. In spite of an acute shortage of building materials, erecting of mosques is on the priority list.

This April, Pope's nuncio visited Bishkek. There he was firmly requested by the Muslims to leave the country. A Commission of Volunteer Muslims (a religious organization attached to Bishkek's main mosque) gathered 150,000 signatures under the appeal to Kyrghyzstan's President Askar Akayev suggesting "a ban on the activity of foreign missionaries on Kyrghyz territory."

The newly independent states of Central Asia – Kyrghyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan – are undergoing an Islamic revival. Hostility and ignorance in regard to religion were fostered under the communist regime. Another process may be observed there today. The Central Asian society is turning to Islamic values; Islamic traditions and ways are being restored. During the Soviet period, Russian vodka had been widely popular in the region. Now in some places (Namangan, Ferghana, Andijan in Uzbekistan), alcohol is banned; religious patrols in the streets force inhabitants to observe Islamic customs.

In Kyrghyzstan or Turkmenistan you can hardly find a woman who covers her face, while in Namangan, women are forced to wear a veil. In Tashkent, a girl wearing a miniskirt is a usual scene, but such an event would be incredible in Ferghana or Ashghabat. "In the future all our women will be veiled and prevented from going to work," said an activist of the Uzbek branch of the illegal Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP).

Early in this century in Bukhara alone, there were about 100 madrasahs which were closed during the communist rule. Now 17 madrasahs have been opened again, with an enrolment of 400 students. They eagerly speak about the pleasure of studying the Koran in Arabic. A lot of madrasahs are functioning in many Central Asian cities and towns.

Thousands of Uzbeks, Kyrghyzes, Tajiks, Turkmens go on pilgrimages to Mecca. (During Soviet years, Central Asian Muslims had no such opportunity, so they became *Hajjis* after seven pilgrimages to Bukhara.) Uzbek and Tajik governments meet the expenses of pilgrimages. President Safarmurad Niyazov of Turkmenia and President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan, once Communist hardliners, travelled this year to Mecca to renew their faith. (One of Karimov's followers confessed: "The greatest difficulty during a visit to Saudi Arabia was abstaining from drinking alcohol and smoking.")

Nevertheless, all Central Asian leaders, despite their loyalty to Islam, strictly keep state and religion separate. According to the constitutions of all states with the exception of Tajikistan, the activities of Islamic parties are banned. The IRP operates throughout Central Asia but only in Tajikistan it has been legalized and seized power with the aid of rioters. In the other states of the region, the IRP acts underground. One of its leaders in Tashkent said: "Our party has the strongest support in all the segments of Uzbek society, but we don't seek state power, because we are not organized well as of yet."

The IRP does not, however, miss an opportunity to show its strength or influence. In some towns in the Ferghana Valley, which stretches across Kyrghyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, the party penet-

That's how socialism was built in Central Asia

rated into local governments. The IRP won control over a lot of mosques from the Grand Mufti of Tashkent, whom in the past the Communists made an official head of Central Asian Islam. The IRP accused him of corruption.

Islam has rooted in Central Asia, which causes the West to be concerned about looming fundamentalism in this part of the ex-USSR. For example, Manfred Wörner, NATO Secretary-General, on a visit to Moscow this February confirmed that "fundamentalists are seizing power in Muslim republics of the ex-USSR and this tendency doesn't correspond to the interests of NATO." Mr Wörner further stated that the West would like to see secular, West-oriented authorities after the "Turkish model." He also warned that Iran must not become inspired by the opportunity to influence the Central Asian republics.

A senseless war of annihilation has been unleashed again in the rigorous Central Asian land

While in Central Asia, it becomes evident that the fears of those in the West are exaggerated. True, the radical Islamic organizations are political bodies for those who seek an Islamic republic. Actually, a lot of young people in Uzbekistan are keen on building an Islamic state and hence they support the IRP. This party includes a few extremist militant factions whose members meet at training camps to prepare themselves for a *jihad*. But in any case Central Asian states will be Islamic ones modelled on, say, Pakistan rather than on Iran. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkmenistan said: "Turkmenistan should be neither Islamic nor Soviet, but a secular and democratic state." These words may be repeated by nearly all leaders in this region.

Nobody cries for socialism

Central Asian countries are choosing not only a religious image for their state but an economic model, too; and it may be this choice which is decisive for attaining their sovereignty and in determining what kind of sovereignty it will be. One can hear a lot of fantastic schemes and forecasts about inevitable future prosperity. Some government bureaucrats enthusiastically see their state thriving in three or five years, reaching living standards if not comparable to that of Saudi Arabia then to that of Turkey for sure. There is a lot of talk about imitating the Gulf countries' path of economic development, about Turkish type of reforms, or about the attractiveness of becoming a "Central Asian dragon," and so on. But these are unreal dreams. There are also more gloomy predictions about the future and most likely these views are closer to the truth.

The economies of all Central Asian countries are under great strain. Industry and agriculture are typically of a socialist nature, i.e., overcentralized, with obsolete machinery and equipment, poor technologies, low productivity, decayed infrastructure, and financially chained to Russia. These countries need huge foreign investments. But investors don't hasten to this region. The reason is obvious: political instability. It would be unwise for businessmen to conclude long-range deals, say, in Tajikistan, where today's turmoil looks to be permanent.

The situation in Kyrghyzstan is disturbing, too. Its chronic disease is hostility between various Kyrghyz clans who are divided into two major groups – northerners and southerners. Each clan insists on its right to govern Kyrghyzstan. During the communist period, such aspirations were suppressed. Now they reveal themselves to be the cause of tensions in the country. The situation is complicated because of the democratic ways of Kyrghyzstan's President Askar Akayev. Democracy, according to local observers, doesn't fit the Asian traditions of life, it brings about confusion and chaos. Let us add the view of Turkmenia's President Safarmurad Niyazov: "Western-style democracy doesn't suit us." The Kyrghyz democrats who assisted Mr Akayev in his rise to power are now demanding a chunk of power for themselves. But all posts have been distributed between clans, and Mr Akayev doesn't dare upset the balance of forces, which has provoked resentment among the democrats. Kyrghyzstan's President was labelled a betrayer of democratic principles.

Mr Akayev is reputed abroad to be a democrat. His pro-Western orientation is well known. He has won many admirers overseas. He was welcomed by Mr Bush and Mr Kohl during his trips to the USA and Germany. Mr Bush said: We appreciate the firm democratic intention of Mr Akayev. The USA and Kyrghyzstan are friends into the ages." Unfortunately, Kyrghyzstan didn't gain any financial rewards from the West's approval. Mr Akayev is nowadays busy seeking Western investments, albeit without success. The President's aide complained: "We were patted on our backs with approval by our American and German friends, but no money was given."

Probably Mr Akayev shares Mr Gorbachev's fate, that is of eager approval of his policy abroad and of growing irritation and bitterness at home. The economic situation in Kyrghyzstan is catastrophic, and there is faint hope to get out of it. Not long ago Mr Akayev was named the "father of Kyrghyz democracy." He had a lot of supporters. Today everything has changed. A furious anti-presidential tide of criticism is rising in local papers. The Kyrghyz journalist Kobai Karabekov asserts: "The President is under fire and he is not given a slightest chance for breath. I think his days are numbered." Mr Akayev is manoeuvring to preserve a balance of political forces, but such behaviour is being perceived as weakness.

Holding the hard line

Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov doesn't yield to pressure from any political forces. The situation in the country is under his tight control. If any sign of disobedience appears, his action is uncompromising and tough. He suppresses all criticism. This January, Tashkent students came out against President's policy. The riot was crushed immediately, two students were killed, 47 were wounded, thousands were deported from the Uzbek capital.

Mr Karimov doesn't tolerate any independent opinion by those around him; opposing him is impossible. Vice-President Mirsaidov barely showed an inkling of independent thinking, and he was removed from his post. Today in Tashkent he is called "our Rutskoi." Mr Karimov is in no need of legislative power, hence since this January, when he was inaugurated as President of Uzbekistan, the parliament has yet to be convened. Opposition parties are not banned (excluding the IRP), but they are virtually forced to work underground. This

May the headquarters of the People's Unity Movement were smashed by police. All opposition papers are closed, others are under strict censorship.

Mr Karimov pursues a contradictory foreign policy. He constantly declares: "My country will follow the Turkish road." The background of these words is: the former communist apparatchik Karimov is drawn to Turkey's secularism as opposed to Islam, which, he fears, may one day sweep him from power. President Karimov hopes that help will come from the Uzbek community in the USA. The Uzbek government gave significant privileges to businessmen and bankers from the USA. Mr Karimov has a personal reason to maintain good realtions with US business circles. It should be recalled that he married his daughter to a banker from New Jersey. His son-in-law's brother has been appointed Uzbekistan's representative in the UN.

Uzbek opposition forces are in an awkward situation. They might be tempted to follow the pattern of the Tajik opposition movement that forced itself into power by way of meetings and demonstrations. "Such an option is undesirable in Uzbekistan's circumstances," said Shukhrat Ismatulaev, a leader of the People's Unity Movement, "since any action by the people will assume a violent and bloody form. The authorities will not stand on ceremony with the people. And as a result, there will be a civil war. This is not my Movement's aim."

Weighing Turkmenistan's future

The most stable position is occupied by Turkmenistan's President Safarmurad Niyazov, and not only because he polled 99.5 percent of votes at this June's presidential election. He has no opposition at all. The only party in Turkmenia, led by its president, styles itself a democratic one, but since it appears to be under the authoritarian rule of Mr Niyazov it sounds like a mockery. The fundamental principle of a democratic choice is not necessary in Turkmenia. At presidential election Mr Niyazov was the only candidate. The Parliament often gathers only to approve Presidential proposals. There is no political life in Ashghabat, Turkmenia's capital. As Moscow papers gloatingly write, "people are asleep," and go on to predict horrible events should they awake.

President Niyazov's strong position is based on the fact that he has no strong ties with Turkmen tribes, he has no kith and kin. This case is unusual for Central Asian conditions where anyone seeking power gets support of a clan or tribe, or territorial supporters. (For example, President Akayev of Kyrghyzstan despite his democratic rhetoric is in reality a representative of an old and mighty Kyrghyz clan.) In 1986, when Mr Niyazov occupied the post of leader of Turkmenian Communist Party, he was a man of compromise. It seemed then that he would not hold on his own for long. But his caution and prudent politics permitted him to confidently control the situation in the country. Besides, the so-called weak side of his "non-tribe" attitude gave him a strong advantage. Niyazov embodies a balance of power between Turkmen tribes. Turkmenistan lives without quarrels, and that is why he has an opportunity to reshape its future.

Another pillar of Mr Niyazov's power is, oddly enough, the backwardness of Turkmenistan. It has neither developed industry nor productive agriculture, in spite of the fact that it has huge deposits of gas, oil and raw materials which give Turkmenistan a chance to get a steadily growing economy in a short period of time. Of course in Ashghabat they realize what a great challenge it is, but there is hope for success.

Safarmurad Niyazov said: "We shall not develop the aircraft industry, we don't need tractor enterprises, we shall not build computer factories. All machines and goods we shall buy abroad. At present we are building specialized enterprises conducive to our conditions, and that is why they will be profitable. They are intended for cotton growing and cotton processing. Turkey harvests as much cotton as Turkmenia and earns $2.5 billion a year while we gain nothing. All was taken away by Russia, Ukraine and Baltic states for a symbolic price, as they did with gas and oil. And we were accused of needing subsidies. Only after winning independence have we been able to accurately appraise our nation's resources, and discovered that we were robbed by our big brother." (That is how the Russians were called in the former Soviet republics.)

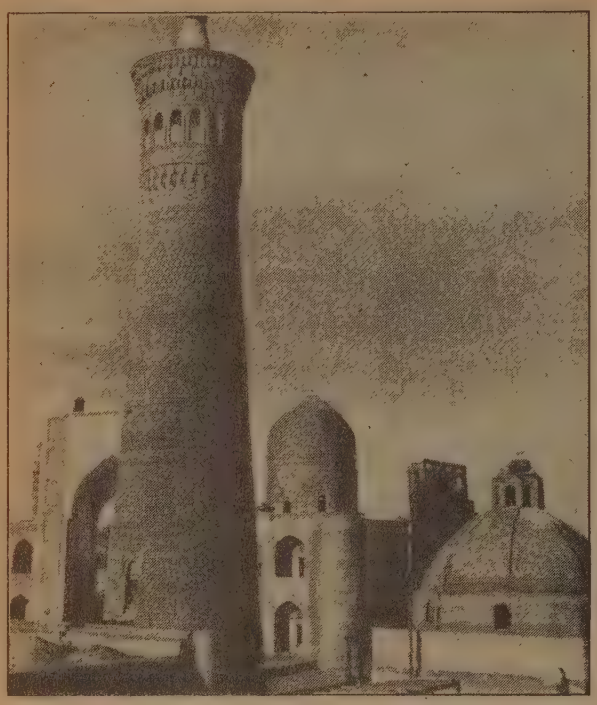
Niyazov's dream is to make Turkmenistan the reachest state in Central Asia. He and his associates have prepared a programme of economic reforms. On the face of it, obstacles for serious reforms seem unsurmountable – Turkmenistan's economic pundits aren't keen on privatization, property relations are rudimentary, the market is just shaping. The state-run enterprises account for a lion's share of production (99 percent), restrictions are imposed on entrepreneurship. For President Niyazov another thing is the centrepiece of the policy of reforms. He would not make a step into the unknown that may discourage the people. "We don't need a revolution in this process, we prefer an evolution," Niyazov argues. And this expression may be the state's motto, meaning that the best framework for economic development is stability. Foreign investors are looking forward to long-term political stability. This is a far cry from reality in Kyrghyzstan, Uzbekistan, not to speak of Tajikistan. From this viewpoint Turkmenia is a reliable place for investments. Stability is a great asset of Turkmenistan. Foreign investments flow into the country. Turkish, Iranian, Swiss, Italian, US, French and Argentine firms are doing business in Turkmenia.

Hopes for the country's progress are based on its oil and gas potential. Today all oil and gas pipelines run across the former Soviet republics, mainly through Russia. 85 billion cubic metres of natural gas head to the Ukraine each year. This April, a conflict broke out between Ukraine and Turkmenia, when the latter raised prices from Rbs30 per 1,000 cubic metres to Rbs800. Ukraine insisted on the previous trade terms. Turkmenia didn't wish to discuss Ukraine's proposal. Instead it cut off the delivery of gas. But if Turkmenia wants to achieve real independence, it needs to sell its oil and gas for hard currency. Pipelines ought to be built with new markets in mind. And indeed, projects for laying an oil piepeline towards the Gulf ports and a gas pipeline through Iran and Turkey to Eastern and Western Europe are at the blueprint stage.

While forging ahead, Turkmenistan gives no preference to any particular state or economic model of development. It denies having any political allies and avoids any economic gravitation. This April, two presidents, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Askar Akayev, tried to establish a common market for Central Asia and Kazakhstan that would presuppose the creation of a bank for reconstruction and development, custom-free borders, and other economic measures. A summit was held in Bishkek to discuss this idea at which Mr Niyazov gave a firm refusal.

This May, Ashghabat was the site of yet another summit. The leaders of Kyrghyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Iran and Pakistan discussed ways for political and economic cooperation. Again the summit failed.

The apotheosis of war



Like these tall minarets, inviolable Islam rises over Central Asia, not influenced by the course of events and ideological trends

Niyazov refused to conclude any agreement. He and his associates hope that Turkmenistan can on its own follow a road leading to stable economic growth.

De facto, Turkmenistan is a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). But Niyazov has assumed the role of an indifferent observer. Perhaps Turkmenistan is planning to withdraw from membership in the CIS, since Niyazov has repeatedly said that its existence is senseless.

Whom do Central Asia's hearts belong to?

Today Central Asia is a centre of diplomatic activity. Various political systems from all over the world try to draw these states into their own sphere of influence. Last December, James Baker, State Secretary of the USA, went on a lightning-speed trip through Central Asian countries. The USA was the first state to establish a diplomatic mission in this region.

Neighbouring Iran and Turkey are contending for influence in this region, with the latter taking the lead. There is an understandable reason for this: Central Asia needs assistance and Turkey has much to offer. Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel went on a tour of the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union. He was enthusiastically welcomed both by the heads of states and the ordinary people. Mr Demirel was lavish of promises of money, credits, rendering of expert assistance and so on. He gave a good amount of advice on how to go about building a new economy. According to him, the best way was to follow Turkey's suit. President Islam Karimov assured him that Turkey would be an elder brother to Uzbekistan. There was a conference in Davos (Switzerland) this February on economic problems with the leaders of Central Asian countries taking part. Islam Karimov, Safarmurad Niyazov and Tajikistan's former President Rakhmon Nabiev presented to Mr Demirel a small box containing a gold heart symbolizing Central Asia's bond with Turkey. Kyrghyzstan's President Askar Akayev called Turkey "a morning star for the Turkic republics." The pan-Turkism is winning ever more supporters.

But not all in Central Asia are so fond of Turkey. Timur Salimov, a businessman from Tashkent, says: "It's silly to replace one elder brother, Russia, with another, Turkey. Moreover, why should we follow a country that produces no innovative technology of its own? I have been to Turkey and seen the enterprises which mostly use Western machinery and equipment." Another view was voiced by Mr Ismatulaev, who said, in particular: "Our rulers demand that our state should gear itself towards the Turkish model. It is a dangerous road, because the United States backs Turkey. Thus, to follow Turkey's suit means to be a companion of the USA." The Uzbek leaders of the IRP strongly protested against Turkey's secular ways and all the more so against being too closely connected with the USA. "Western values – material oversaturation, corruption, dishonesty, immorality are unacceptable to us," said an IRP activist. Professor Faizula Ishkakov of Tashkent University stressed: "Uzbeks are against the American presence in Uzbekistan. Turkey means America. Mr Karimov doesn't ponder over who is the friend of Uzbekistan and who is its adversary."

All the same, Turkish presence in Central Asia is increasingly growing. Turkish TV and Turkish-language broadcasts will soon cover all of Central Asia. Turkish movies are shown in local cinemas. Turkmenia is the first state to switch to the Roman alphabet accepted in Turkey. Such a changeover is planned in Kyrghyzstan, too. Youths from Kyrghyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan go to Turkey to learn the art of management at private enterprises; the Turkish government undertakes arrangements for their study in a wide range of specialities. Along with this Turkey tries to exercise control over the diplomacy of the newly-emerged states through cunning methods. It proposes, for instance, to defray all the expenses involved in the maintenance of Kyrghyz embassy in Ankara except for the ambassador's salary.

Turkey is a leader in making deals with these republics. Premier Demirel claims to have signed credit agreements with them worth $1 billion. Turks are very actively wooing new businessmen in Central Asia, and seeking any opportunity to get a foot in this region. Of course, the most lucrative place for their business is stable Turkmenia. Turkish investments into its industry make up about $330 million.

Iran's presence in this region is tangible albeit far from being highly influential. Iran poses before the newly independent states as the Father of the prodigal sons. It was very quick to open embassies in Central Asia. It attempts through the newly founded Caspian Council (which includes Iran, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Russia) to establish its presence in Central Asia. President Rafsanjani visited some ex-Soviet Muslim republics. But his visit has brought about no serious economic or political results for Central Asia or Iran. Iran lacks money to have a prime influence on this region. It continues, however, to conclude deals with Turkmenia.

Pakistan is another contender in this region. Pakistani leaders, since the time of Zia ul-Haq, have been cherishing the dream of creating a "strategic deep front" in view of its confrontation with India. Last December, Pakistan's Minister of Economics, Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali, paid a visit to Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrghyzstan together with a team of businessmen to examine the prospects for trade and cooperation. Mr Asif offered a long-term credit to each of them to the tune of $10-30 mln.

Pakistan's efforts, however, were useless. Central Asian states have weak historical connections with Pakistan. Their languages and traditions make them look towards Turkey rather than Pakistan. Only one Central Asian leader, President Nabiev of Tajikistan, visited Pakistan. Others went on friendly visits to India.

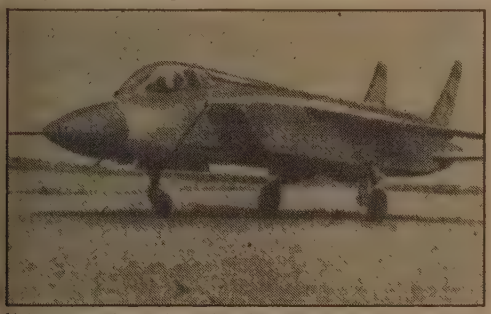
Nabiev has been lavishly rewarded and received a credit worth $500 million. Tajikistan is going to pay off this sum by selling electricity to power-hungry northern Pakistan. But this may prove impossible, since the hydroelectric power station being built on the River Vakhsh may never be completed due to political turmoil in Tajikistan.

Nikolai Andreyev
Ashghabat–Bishkek–Tashkent

Our aircraft keeps high altitude too

An unusually great number of Russian-made aircraft was on display at the 38th International Airshow in Farnborough (Great Britain).

The Russian delegation at the airshow included the most reputed experts on aircraft design from research institutes and aircraft manufacturers. Over two dozen aircraft and helicopters were exhibited on the airfield of a test centre of the British Royal Air-Force, about 50 kilometres off London. Along with aircraft and helicopters which have already gained recognition at the recently held Moscow Airshow '92 and at expositions in other countries, the participants and guests at the Farnborough could see many our technological novelties.



Yak-141 vertical take-off and landing fighter – the hit of the Airshow

These included a medium-range liner, Tu-204, equipped with two economical Rolls-Royce turbo-jet engines. We demonstrated at the homeland of the first vertical take-off and landing Harrier aircraft, two models of analogous fighters. For the first time we demonstrated these dock-based supersonic Yak-38M and Yak-141 military aircraft. The latter has broken a dozen of world records immediately upon its being commissioned.

The family of supersonic fighters and interceptors is represented by the state-of-the-art modified models of the famous MIGs and SUs whose appearance in the sky was eagerly awaited by the aviation community. The Sukhoi Aircraft Company demonstrated a sport and aerobatics plane SU-29 as well which is popular with sportsmen in the USA and other countries. A noteworthy aspect is that we are taking part in this airshow on the basis of complete self-financing. All the associations, design centres and enterprises which sent their representatives and exhibits paid expenses from their own funds.

The first international fair Russian Farmer

It is universally believed that the fair on the Neva River became the most important event in Russia's economic life since it changed prevailing opinion of farmers as a rudimentary and still insignificant social force. The fair strikes one by its scope: representatives of 140 thousand farms disposing of over 6 million hectares of arable land take part in it.

The farmers came to the fair not only to show their products and speak out their needs and concerns to the authorities, suppliers and intermediaries, but mainly in order to conclude direct contracts and to assimilate the most up-to-date experience which more than 1 hundred firms from 15 countries are willing to share with them. Well-known companies from Italy, England, the USA, Germany, Netherlands, Israel and other countries have exhibits in the pavilions of LenExpo. One can just look around or strike bargains for supplies of: Massey Fergusson tractors (Great Britain), baking technology from the Italian firm Technoservice, equipment for cultivating potatoes and vegetables of the Yuko company (Finland).

Such large enterprises as the Kurganselmash Association, the Tula Grain Harvesters Factory, the Kuban Trade House, the Chebenevo Farming House and many others took part in the fair.

For the first time research institutes and design centres offered private agricultural producers their projects. The experimental and training farm Pushkinskoye, situated near St.Petersburg, offered its project of a model potato-seed farm for cultivating the Scottish Elite and Superelite growths. A Scottish farmer Alan Twatt is implementing this British Government-sponsored project on the land of the Puskinskoye experimental farm.

Cooperation on sea

South Korea, China, Russia and Japan signed an agreement in Moscow on the creation of a joint marine and air radio-navigation system.

The guarantor of the agreement is the International Association of Lighthouse Authorities. The document provides for synchronization of the functioning of the already existing 16 ground-based stations on the territory of the four countries.

The project will enhance the sea and air navigation safety in the 30 million sq. km large region of the Pacific, from the Chukot Peninsula to Indonesia. The agreement is very advantageous to all sides economically because it makes unnecessary for each country to build new stations with a total estimated cost of 15 to 17 million dollars.

Currently the Russian side is considering proposals by several Western firms concerning joint manufacturing of radio-navigation transreceivers. The average price of such receivers on the world market is about 5 thousand dollars, and at present the demand for them runs into the hundreds of units. It is expected that these devices will be produced by Russian reconverted enterprises. Experts believe that this will create thousands of jobs in the defence industry and guarantee enterprises high profits.

It became known that Russia intends to sign agreements on creating similar radio-navigation systems in the region of the Baltic, Mediterranean and Black seas.

Baltic bananza

According to information from reliable sources, Russia's officialdom is currently at work on a new document that would apply to all free economic zones in Russia.

The new statute would grant economic and legal independence only to Kaliningrad, Vyborg, Nakhodka and Sakhalin. The government may adopt a separate decree on the the Yantar free economic zone. In any case, all the necessary documents have been sent by the region's administration to Moscow for a second round of approval by officials.

As the federal authorities ponder the matter of how much freedom will be enough for the predominantly Russian enclave on the coast of the Baltic Sea, some 4,000 enterprises and companies from practically all CIS countries and the Baltics have already moved in. Over 80 enterprises with foreign capital participation have been set up there, and almost 20 foreign companies have opened their offices in Kaliningrad Region.

"A meat patty isn't for your pocket, darling"

O those eternal "values of socialist society"! I wish them go to hell, instead they're everywhere I look

A new school year has begun in Moscow. This means that all elementary school students are again treated to free lunches. What does this mean – "all elementary school students"? In general they are well-fed (in the Soviet understanding) and spoiled. Fortunately, they don't resemble little Somalis reaching out with their twiggy arms for food (the heart sinks when one sees newsreel footages of Somalia).

What do I mean by "well-fed in the Soviet understanding"? The explanation lies in the Soviet socialist phenomenon, our unique psychology, the key to which can be found in the phrase: "What, we worse off than others?!" Each mother believes that her child must be nourished by sausages, ham, eggs, caviar, fruit, cookies, and chocolates.

Too many Moscow children are overweight. They are puzzled at the sight of a plate of porridge: is it to be eaten? In fact, they need to be coerced, or cajoled, or else argued into consumption of it, or even tricked into it through the distraction of reciting fairy-tales.

But what is this "free lunch" (the provision of which costs Moscow's new democratic authorities dearly)? Since not all my readers have children of elementary-school age, here's a description.

It is a "meat patty" (costing a nickel until a few years ago, then a fiver, and now eight roubles each) of uninviting grey color. People have tried to figure out its actual composition. Some say it is udder and bread. Others argue it is bread and udder. However, the school canteen managers lie that it is from real beef. The "meat patty" is served invariably cold and is slimy inside. On the side, there is a spoonful of porridge or some other kind of *kasha* (also grey). At times you get a lump of congealed grey macaroni. That is supposed to be eaten and washed down with almost a cupful of unsweetened muddy tea from a badly-washed glass.

Sometimes, an egg. School cafeterias invented and protect their secret technology allowing an egg to have a hard-boiled yolk while the outer white layer remains liquid. Such a result is unattainable at home.

Sometimes, there is bread and cheese, sliced up a good time – perhaps a week – in advance. The cheese is hard and warped. The bread yields only to young sharp teeth.

It happens that the cafeteria may serve a slice of fat and stringy meat, or half a frankfurter, or else a portion of soft cottage-cheese the size of a matchbox.

The youngest are docile and eat the lunch up, since the schoolmistress tells them to do so. Later, in the classroom, they find consolation in a ham or bologna sandwich, or maybe even a banana brought from home. But the more daring upper-graders can't be made to eat this disgusting food. They drop the "meat patties" on the floor, or toss them out through the window, or if such a chance doesn't arise, they simply slide them into their pockets where the "meat patty" plasters the pockets' inner-walls, before being scrubbed out by the mother at home. Fourth-graders make a sport out of hurling unappetizing eggs at each other. Fifth-graders enjoy knocking the tea glass over into the plate with the macaroni. Only rye bread is in demand, because it is healthy food with no repulsive taste: a piece for each lunching child, the cafeteria lady refuses to give or sell more. In fact, these dining halls don't sell anything to children, perhaps not to corrupt them through contact with money.

The elder schoolchildren have it the hardest: they are hungry. They are offered the same lunch but they have to pay for it as it is, which means that if the lunch includes half a frankfurter, it is impossible to buy a whole one.

But the most interesting part is when the meal ends. The canteen woman dumps the remainder of the food into a special bucket and stirs it with a special stick. The procedure is attended by representatives from the teaching staff and the parents committee. What idiocy, you may say. It is: remains of porridge, macaroni, eggs, "meat patties," frankfurters, etc., get dumped and stirred, to prevent the cafetaria from selling the uneaten food later, to second-shifters of school children or, perhaps, for some other unfathomed reason.

What is the percent of children from poor families in an average class at a Moscow school? How many children live in families which don't possess a videoplayer, a car, or summer cottage, whithout business executives or JV staffers among its members? How many schoolchildren are prepared to eat anything, just to beat hunger? There's no official statistics on that. The red-tape doesn't care. As a result, all schoolchildren are mandatorily treated to free meals.

In fact, there are only a couple poor children in each class, five at the most. The rest can be properly cared for by the parents. So why must the Moscow authorities necessarily subject all children to "socialist equality?" Perhaps they use this to avoid catering for the truly needy.

Tatiana Ivanova

The beginning of an end or just a crisis?

Anyone well-versed in economics knows that chronic overproduction leads to a crisis sooner or later. This is exactly what has happened to Russia's commodity exchanges. By June 1992, there functioned in the former USSR more than 700 organizations which called themselves commodity exchanges (as against 57 in the rest of the world). Now the commodity exchange boom of 1991 has given way to a decline in the exchange business which some analysts see as an end of the commodity exchange era

So what's going on at Russia's commodity exchanges today?

We put this question to **Mikhail ROZHKOV,** director of the independent Organized Market Research Institute.

Although the exchanges' turnovers have not decreased much in terms of cost, i.e., in rubles, the amount of the commodities sold has diminished sharply. The turnover is kept up by inflation, by a continuing rise in prices. Broker companies curtail their operations at commodity exchanges from day to day. Whether they want to or not, they often turn to the black market, because the overall economic situation leaves them no other options. Legitimate business has become unprofitable. In the meantime, commodity exchanges are losing profits.

Share prices at the exchanges have not merely come close to the nominal figure – they have long been purchased below par. If these shares sell at all, a broker considers himself lucky. The commodity exchanges' commission charges vary. More stable exchanges charge low commission rates so as to encourage brokers to transact their business there. Contrarywise, smaller exchanges have to raise their commission charges if they are to make ends meet somehow. In the meantime, less and less sales are made. The crisis of the commodity exchange movement clearly manifests itself in a change of public attitude to them; mass media now refer to commodity exchange brokers as profiteers.

The government probably holds the same view, judging by the profit tax it levies on commodity exchanges – 45 percent (middleman's tax); to compare, other enterprises are taxed 32 percent.

The situation is now further complicated by the fact that authorized capitals and receipts from the sale of broker posts at most commodity exchanges have been simply "squandered." As a result, the exchanges are threatened with bankruptcy and cannot simply wait out the "hard times."

It's too early to bury commodity exchanges yet...

What do you think has made the situation the way it is now?

The liberalization of prices, a move made by the government in the free-market spirit, was, paradoxically, the first and perhaps the main cause of the commodity exchange crisis. The interesting thing is that free prices have always been the chief trump card of the commodity exchanges. Until recently such prices existed at the exchanges only which attracted manufacturers by offering them a chance to sell their products more dearly. Now this trump card has vanished.

May I remind the reader that commodity exchanges began to emerge here in the period when the state supply system was falling apart. Under these circumstances, they helped a buyer to find a seller and vice versa. Once the buyers and sellers have found each other, they no longer needed commodity exchanges.

A major shortcoming of the commodity exchange is that it still involves major risks for both the manufacturer and the consumer. Any failure in the "client–broker–exchange–broker–client" chain causes default on the terms of a deal. A commodity exchange can give no guarantees; neither can it pay a penalty for non-delivery.

Besides, it is a very cumbersome system. Our commodity exchanges are popularly known as "flea markets," where all sorts of stuff are on sale. What's more, these markets lack economic efficiency.

Specialized broker companies (trading houses, agencies, etc.) now emerging on our business scene offer ever fiercer competition to commodity exchanges. It is these companies that the commodities now go to. Computers, office-work mechanization facilities, imports, light and food industry products are already deserting our commodity exchange market.

Speaking of the commodity exchanges' survival, we should bear it in mind that on the Russian market, there are still quite a few niches for organized brokerage...

Reserves of survival

The main reserve is specialization. The practice of selling real and excessively varied merchandise sooner or later comes up against a certain limit beyond which a commodity exchange gets "indigestion." An ordinary auction-type tender can handle 10,000 items of commodities, but not 200,000-300,000. The range of goods in circulation on the domestic market runs into millions of items. There the coming commodity exchange reforms do not amount to escaping from a sinking ship. This is businessmen's normal reaction to a change in market situation. Specialized wholesale brokerage companies are less competitive and just in their formative stage.

Let us examine some of the likely types of

these companies which may have a boom before very long.

The trading house. Conversion of commodity exchanges into trading houses is most expedient and the least painful, because trading houses function much like our commodity exchanges do. First, a trading house may do its own trade, like a dealer who sells his wares on his own behalf and at his own expense. Second, a trading house may act as a straight mediator finding partners for its clients and making arrangements for the marketing and delivery of commodities. Third, a trading house furnishes information of interest to its member merchants. It is like a business centre keeping track of demand for, and supply of, certain items. Fourth, a trading house organizes trade within its own framework like a commodity exchange does, in the form of permanent exhibitions and fairs, auction sales, etc. Finally, a trading house can be integrated into the production sphere. In other words, it contains the entire cycle of production (a set of manufacturing enterprises) and marketing (warehouses, stores, wholesale outlets, various services, etc.) dealing in certain items.

Conversion may proceed also along the lines of setting up a large Western-type **brokerage** or **dealer company.** These will not be the wholesale agencies of the kind we already have, but ramified brokerage systems, complete with agent networks, marketing, business information, market research and expert examination departments, an insurance system, a marketing network, storage facilities, etc.

Commodity exchanges may also be converted into **holdings.** This is the optimum way of conversion for the commodity exchanges which have already developed an infrastructure of their own – a system of trading houses, wholesale depots, insurance and investment societies, banks, information, consulting and other services. The commodity exchanges which have built up a substantial capital can also be converted into holdings. This capital goes into setting up subsidiary enterprises in various (but as a rule interconnected) spheres of activity. The network then turns into a miniconcern, and the commodity exchange into its headquarters with controlling interest. Rich commodity exchanges can also be transformed into **investment companies and foundations.**

The following fact is worthy of special note. In the early stage of reforms, the word "exchange" was perhaps the only one to designate free-market realities new to Russia. Today Russian businessmen have replenished their vocabularies with such terms as "holding," "consulting," "futures," "option," "trading house," "dealer

This was the beginning of the commodity-raw materials exchange – one of the first to appear in the former Soviet Union. What fate awaits it as it is forced to compete with the hundreds of newly-arising exchanges, cropping up in Russia in only the last year?

company." Actually, this is not merely a matter of enriching their stock of technical terms having to do with business and commerce. These new words, which have become current here in less than a year, reflect a new and more fundamental stage of the country's advance towards a free market. They are increasingly getting filled with concrete meaning commensurate with that such words have in the West. What has until recently been abstract theory to us is now becoming a reality and a promise.

Does this mean that the commodity-exchange era has come to an end in Russia?

It would be a mistake to say that the exchange era has ended and that all the commodity exchanges without exception are doomed to extinction or transformation. So commodity exchanges will carry on on their markets. They have the alternative of either taking up futures trade, or going bankrupt. Futures exchanges sell contracts for the delivery of commodities, not commodities as such. The range of exchange commodities is confined to raw materials (oil, metals, etc.) and farm produces. No goods are delivered under commodity exchange contracts, as a rule. They sell "air" – goods are sold outside commodity exchanges, along entirely different channels, including those mentioned above. The meaning of such commodity exchange trade consists, first of all, in that exchange speculations reveal market prices of raw materials. These are exactly the prices charged in extra-exchange markets. Second, the mechanism of exchange trade makes it possible to insure the transactions made outside a commodity exchange.

Lest the exchange movement in Russia should peter out, all the further moves aimed at promoting it should proceed from the priority of futures trade. Here are the basic landmarks on the way to such trade.

First. The broadening of the practice of joint tenders by several exchanges, which in most cases leads to their merger.

Concentration of demand and supply will grow as a result. This will allow the exchange to discharge its main function – to reveal market prices of exchange commodities. These processes are already underway. This is the way the Asian Exchange and the Germes, which have brought Siberia's commodity exchanges together, operate. This is the first stage in the development of the Free Trade Association (FTA) which many Moscow commodity exchanges are affiliated with.

Second. Commodity exchanges will create (and are creating already) their infrastructure, trading and service enterprises, and stop doing what they are not supposed to do – selling non-exchange commodities (any commodities, for that matter), storing, trucking, investing, etc.

Third. The process of commodity specialization will gain in scale, non-exchange commodities will be ousted. Now there are as yet no specialized exchanges under any name.

Fourth. Exchange standards covering not only the classification and qualitative characteristics of goods will be introduced. To be standardized are the terms of delivery and settlement, minimum size of an exchange shipment (the contract base), margin of deviation from average quality, etc.

Fifth. Standard exchange contracts will be put on sale.

Finally, sixth. A special mechanism for settling accounts between brokers – clearing – will be introduced at commodity exchanges. A settlement (or clearing) chamber – now often mixed up with the registration chamber – will be opened. This is a very complicated mechanism involving banking and insurance operations. Specifically, a settlement chamber is now being set up at the Moscow Non-Ferrous Metals Exchange, and a mutual settlements corporation has been registered in Perm.

The stages singled out above will not necessarily be consecutive; more likely than not, they will occur simultaneously. Despite the commodity exchanges' readiness to change over to futures trade, it is still a long way off. Now the situation is such that the very existence of every commodity exchange is at stake. The survival of a commodity exchange depends on whether it chooses the strategy of its further development correctly.

Interviewer: **Nikolai Garkusha**

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Having survived rumours about his inevitable resignation, with a smile on his face, First Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia **Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyayev,** 36, seemed to regain a quiet life in his ministerial study. But fate had a new trial in store for him.

Having seen off his relatives at a Moscow railway station, he happened to witness a horrible scene – a group of drunken hooligans were severely beating an invalid. Shelov-Kovedyayev came to his rescue, and the criminals attacked him.

They didn't want even to listen to him at the nearest police station and told him to be off. He had to produce his identity card of the People's Deputy of the Russian Federation.

Moscow railway stations seem to be becoming especially dangerous for domestic politicians: not so long ago the unconscious body of a former People's Deputy of the USSR Sergei Belozertsev was found at one of them.

***

Difficult and treacherous was the path of inner searching trodden by **Father John** (Borislavsky), Archbishop of the Church of the Transfiguring Mother of God. The Church traces its line of succession from the Elders of the Catacombs (clandestine) Church where Father John was initiated in 1987. The Church sees its objective in the revival of Saint Russia under the Protective Veil of the Mother of God. Prior to an excruciating spiritual crisis and conversion to the Orthodox faith in 1980, Father John, who was born in Moscow in 1946, studied philosophy, sociology and music, read lectures on philosophy at Moscow State University and was a singer. In 1984 there was the revelation of the Mother of God to Father John, the Icon of the Mother of God of Smolensk (Hodigitria) talked to him. These revelations continue to this day. The prophet of the Mother of God is convinced that the most important thing today is to fulfil the will of the Most High in order to bring Russia to Christ through a common repentance. The motto of the Church is "The age of saints, the power of the pious."

More and more people are attracted to the Church of the Holy Mother of God in the attempt to reform through Her into the Holy Spirit. The international ties of the Church are expanding. On May 13-25 this year Magriarch of the Church of the Most Holy Mother of God, the Transfigurating Prophet of the Mother of God Archbishop John participated in the International Congress for the Integral Sciences on Man and World Religions in Montreal. On May 20 this year

Russophobia and the binomial theorem

There is no harmony in that man, nor in his fate, or in what he has written, or in his actions. **Igor Shafarevich** is an academician, he heads the Chair of algebra at the V.A. Steklov Institute of Mathematics. He is a regular contributor to voluminous journals which are absolutely extraneous to mathematics, including some quite respectable ones. His extra-algebraic interests range from Shostakovich and Leonid Andreyev to unveiling pernicious schemes by the enemies of the Russian people.

The two most famous books by Shafarevich, *Socialism as a phenomenon of world history* and *Russophobia*, sharply changed the flow of his life.

After the publication of the first he became one of the most reputed dissidents. His authority as a human rights activist was on as high a plain as his authority as a world-renown mathematician.

After the second was published, he was shunned not only by his comrades in arms in the human rights movement, but by all decent people in general.

The reaction to his book *Russophobia* was culminated by a letter from the President of the US National Academy of Sciences and Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Academy with the request to Igor Shafarevich "to resign from the post as a Foreign Member of the Academy" on grounds of anti-Semitism.

Igor Shafarevich was selected a Foreign Member of the US National Academy of Sciences at the recommendation of Academician Sakharov. According to Yelena Bonner, Andrei Sakharov later regretted it. Incidentally, the activity of Shafarevich as a member of the Sakharov Committee for human rights was rather selective, to say the least. When the leader of the Crimean Tatars Mustafa Jemilev was once again arrested and they asked Shafarevich to intercede, he didn't even try to help him, because Jemilev was after all only a Tatar!

By contrast, Alexander Solzhenitsin didn't react to Shafarevich's anti-Semitic or, more precisely, jingoistic escapades. Having drawn an extremely attractive portrait of Igor Shafarevich in his essay *The Oak and the Calf*, he most likely continues to believe that the today's Igor Shafarevich is the same person who copublished with him the famous selection of articles called *From under the ruins*.

Till very recently Shafarevich was on the Editorial Board of the newspaper *Den*. His name added credibility to the newspaper. By strange coincidence, he abandoned this job after the scandal connected with the letter by the authorities of the US National Academy.

In his publication in *Literaturnaya Rossiya* (Literary Russia) Shafarevich asks not to associate these two events. It's evident to him that "there can be no connection here." "Simply this newspaper is a bit harsh," he said by phone, having denied an interview to *NT*. Equally unconvincing are the explanations given by Shafarevich to his colleagues in the Academy as to why the V.A. Steklov Institute of Mathematics is, using the phraseology of not so remote times, "Judenfrei."

However, Shafarevich seems right only on one point when he says, "I never addressed the US National Academy with the request to select me as one of its Foreign Members (although I was pleased by the honour). Therefore I believe that the question of my remaining as its member is the problem of the Academy itself."

the All-Russian Church of the Mother of God was registered at the World Council of Churches, having acquired equal international and legal status with all confessions and churches of the world. On September 19 and 20 the All-Russia Sobor of the Church of the Mother of God was held with the participation of the Prophet of the Mother of God Father John and with the invisible presence of THE MOST HOLY VIRGIN MARY Herself and assistance of hosts of angels.

* * *

"After the Berlin Wall was pulled down the turn of my father and his theatre came," the well-known German playwrite's 60-year-old daughter **Barbara Brecht** says indignantly.

Brecht's famous Berliner Ensemble where his *Three-Penny Opera* and *Mother Courage* were staged is "temporarily" closed, most actors sacked and Barbara herself expelled from the Theatre's Board.

To justify their action the Berlin authorities affirm that the Berliner Ensemble "mummified" Brecht, giving a purely orthodox communist interpretation to his plays. Brecht's plays will be staged in Berlin, but using "interpretations of various talented directors."

Barbara insists that in conformity with copyright legislation and as the direct heir to the playright of worldwide renown, she alone has the right to authorize staging his plays. Only with her consent can the director and the actors for the two leading roles be appointed. She also intends to use her right in the future.

"The contemporary world with all its calamities and ethical problems needs precisely Bertolt Brecht and not any other playwrite. For that reason his *Three-Penny Opera* is more topical today than ever before and precisely in that interpretation in which it saw the light of day. Indeologies fall, but people remain. Both the triumphant bourgeoisie and victorious capitalism, as well as culture which has become their servant – all of them need Brecht's critical interpretation," says Barbara.

Barbara Brecht denies that her father and his theatre could always count on special esteem by the East German authorities: "My father was an inconvenient playwrite for communist leaders too, his plays made people think, which was never liked by either the left or the right."

A bureaucracy-tamer

Similar to Baron Münchhausen who declared a war on England, the 40-year-old leader of the registered Anti-bureaucratic Party **Rudolf Kagramanov** has also declared "a merciless war." He fights not with a country, but with world bureaucracy. He began with the Russian Supreme Soviet and its Speaker, the Ministers of Justice and the Press, the Ostankino TV Company and the weekly paper *Arguments and Facts*, the Reuter Agency and *Wall Street Journal* – Kagramanov has filed suits against all of them. Next in line will be Yegor Gaidar "whose government regularly violates the Constitution and law."

"Temporary failures" on the front of this painstaking war don't upset the "bureaucracy-tamer." Having graduated from the Leningrad Agricultural Institute in the 1970s, and never having spent a single day in any office, Kagramanov immediately "started a big business": he created 8 to 10 illicit shops which manufactured jeans. Having been sentenced to eight years of imprisonment in 1984, he organized an entire "anti-bureaucracy movement" in one of the "reformatory colonies" in Siberia. At first the penitentiary administration tried to resist; later attempts were made to come to terms with him, but by the end of his time in the camp the adminsitration gave in, they chose not to have anything to do with the man.

Whereas Carnegie created a science for influencing people, Kagramanov became the founder of "the science of scandalogy" and thus nearly came to be mentioned in *The Guinness Book of Records*. At the last moment the editor of the Russian edition changed his mind about having such records registered in his serious book. The result? He was immediately called a bureaucrat. Kagramanov and his followers try to "eliminate all bureaucratic structures" by means of complaints, scandals, suits and fines. More than that, he promises to achieve this goal by the year 2000. And in order to expedite elimination, he demands that the President of Russia should create the first All-Russia Committee for the Struggle against Bureaucracy, with an international one soon following suit.

Vast are the plans of the great plaintiff and invincible is his faith in success. Having lodged over 18 thousand complaints on various matters and having received no reply on most of them, he decided that he "has already won." "If a bureaucrat doesn't want to have anything to do with me this means that he fears me," explains Kagramanov. "And if so, I'm the winner." But does the "defeated" bureaucrat share this opinion?

Operation Seventh Heaven

Junkies in doctors' robes

The job of a doctor or a paramedic involves frightening risk: a night intruder (or a pack of them) can burst into the hospital, draw a gun and scream at you:

"Out with it!"

Drug addicts cannot be expected to behave normally. They won't stop at murdering an innocent person if it helps them get back into the desired state of drug-induced inebriation, seventh heaven. Ambulance teams are in particular danger: behind the entrance door of an apartment building – to where the ambulance men hurried through rain and storm – there can be pop-eyed drug addicts expecting them:

"Out with it!"

God help you!

It's no exaggeration to say that Moscow's hospitals are almost under siege. In 1974 the USSR Supreme Soviet decreed new rules for the safe keeping of narcotic drugs in chemist's shops, as well as in-patient and out-patient hospitals. Since then, narcotic drugs have been kept in steel strong-boxes inside special rooms with barred windows. Narcotic drugs and medicines containing them are prescribed under strict control. Each droplet of such substances is registered in a special ledger when dispensed to an ill person.

I called ten hospitals in Moscow with one worried question: how are you holding out?

Says Vladimir Annenkov, deputy chief physician at the 24th Hospital:

"God is merciful. There hasn't been a single attack here, though the canteen was repeatedly robbed."

Says Rostislav Kozlyuk, chief physician at the 61st Hospital:

"We've had no assailants here in the last two years."

Similar assurances came from: Victor Barket, deputy chief physician, the 81st Hospital; Olga Chudnovskaya, deputy chief physician, the 79th Hospital; Galina Tkachenko, department chief, the 17th Hospital, and managerial staff members of five more hospitals.

All has been quiet so far. God is benevolent to the medical profession. Still, the drug addicts are biding their time, and make the night time pretty dangerous. In view of this, almost all hospitals now have hired guards, including off-duty regular police and private security guards. This costs a pretty penny but there's no alternative, they told me at the hospitals: a couple of medicos on night duty can't overpower drug-crazed intruders. Hiring guards is so costly an affair that it leaves almost no means to pay for metal window bars. Only the 81st Hospital has all the ground-floor windows safely barred. All other hospitals I visited installed bars only on the windows where medicines are stored and treatment is administered. They choose not to bar the ward windows, which would be beyond their means.

Operation Dope

The Russian Ministry of the Interior has, for some time now, an Illicit Drugs Circulation Department headed by Vladimir Polyansky, an expert in the field. The Department annually carries out Operation Dope aimed at uncovering cases of misappropriated drugs.

Drawing by Victor Bogorad

It turns out there are several ways in which drugs can be illegally obtained. In the first half of 1992 as many as 109 cases were entered under the heading of "Obtaining of Drugs or Other Potent Substances through Theft, Burglary, or Mugging," which is about only half as much against the same period of 1991. But there were 117 cases of "illegally obtaining drugs or other potent substances by people entrusted with the above in their line of work," against 55 in 1991.

Vladimir Polyansky says he doesn't remember an instance of a hazed drug addict bursting into a hospital or chemist's lab, demanding drugs from the feeble-bodied staff and flashing weapons. This means that "mugging" and "burglary" can be discarded, which leaves us with "theft" when the perpetrator is operating quietly and often unidentified. There are also, however, a precious few cases of the reverse, when, for example, a girl gang was caught stealing doctors' personal signatures and prescription forms from reception rooms in Khabarovsk's hospitals.

But it must be with good reason that hospitals bar the windows and hire Afghan war veterans as guards! Still Vladimir Polyansky was adamant: there's been no attacks against medical staff! He picked up the phone and asked detective Alexei, but the latter denied that he ever came across such cases in his career.

However, the second part of the register drew many stories from Vladimir Polyansky. Operation Dope '92 revealed quite a few crimes by shady medical personnel.

Paramedic Komissarova from a district hospital in the town of Krasnaya Ob saved and hoarded sombrevin ampoules for sale to women about to have an abortion.

Doctor Dubinin from Novosibirsk's 13th Out-Patient Hospital prescribed pain-killers to serious cancer cases but demanded half of that as a kickoff (he misappropriated 100 ampoules of drugs altogether).

Doctor Golenkova from Nizhny Novgorod's 2nd Out-Patient Hospital also prescribed promedolum, morphine, and codterpinum to drug cases, retained some of the amount as a kickoff and sold it to local addicts through paramedic Yershova.

General practitioner Alimov from Dzerzhinsk made out 30 fake prescriptions of ephedrinum for sale to addicts.

Ambulance doctor Slobodin from Kirov stole 50 ampoules of promedolum.

Fifth-year medical student from Arkhangelsk, Savchenko, stole prescription forms during his internship. He obtained, on over 40 phoney prescriptions, quantities of ephedrinum which he and his mates processed into an illicit drug ephedronum.

Operation Dope '92 revealed 51 cases of theft perpetrated by officials, over 600 cases of violations of the rules of keeping and using drugs, and spotted over 2,000 phoney prescriptions.

That was a typical catch of Operation Dope which breaks up (though for some time only) amateur Operation Seventh Heaven forever carried out by criminally-minded medical staff nationwide.

Drugs are getting ever costlier, like all other commodities. One gram of morphine costs 500 rubles, and an ampoule of promedolum costs 300 rubles on the black market now. Consequently, a doctor's job can be quite lucrative.

False alarm

Are the officials at the Moscow-based Chief Medical Directorate in the know about it? In fact, they say they know about one thing for sure: the danger of burglary and attacks, which is looming large.

Nina Bulanova, from the Directorate, sounds appalled: "Hospitals are under the constant threat of attacks which are taking place everywhere! It is impossible to carry on like this!"

She patted a file with, in her words, incident reports from hospitals and recited for my sake: three night assaults against the 71st Hospital, two more in the 31st Hospital, another one in the 57th Hospital, and two more in the 15th Hospital.

I rushed to interview the above-listed hospital's personnel.

"No, we have been spared, there's been no assaults so far," chief physician of the 71st Hospital Margarita Kosyreva said with surprise. "We have military academy cadets to protect us."

"Thank God, nothing of the kind befell us," cheerfully told me chief physician of the 31st Hospital, Georgi Polukhov.

"No, there has been nothing like that. Knock on wood," said deputy chief physician of the 57th Hospital Valentina Tvorogova.

All other hospital managers I interviewed spoke to me in the same vein against the Chief Medical Directorate's allegations of violent incidents. Only chief physician of the 7th Hospital, Tatyana Prokhorenko admitted:

"There have been such incidents here, of course, lots of them. We even had to contract a private company for protection. You ask me who were the assailants? Anyone can hide himself in the underground passages, come out at night and intimidate the paramedic on duty. There have been lots of instances, I tell you."

According to Tatiana Prokhorenko, all Moscow's hospitals are invaded by drug addicts and are raided by maniacs. It is impossible to carry on in such conditions, she says. But according to the Directorate, there's been only one instance of extortion of drugs from the personnel at the 7th Hospital, against two, three, or more cases in certain other hospitals (which deny it). The most plausible explanation is fear of local drunks and hooligans who use to call to the hospitals in search of a place to sleep. Besides, alcoholic characters who can be pretty aggressive are sometimes delivered to hospitals by ambulances.

I think that any prospective drug addict in this country can be relieved of the need to hide out in underground passages or to steal towards a dimly-lit desk at night. I know of an easier way.

The easiest way to get drugs

1. Graduate from a secondary school.
2. Enlist in a medical college.
3. Graduate from the college six years later and get a medical diploma.

Then you can get high as often as you want. There are lots of gravely ill cases screaming in pain in this country, who need your prescriptions. You have only to get the right to don a white frock of a doctor. You will also have to make yourself invisible in the crowd of honest members of the medical profession.

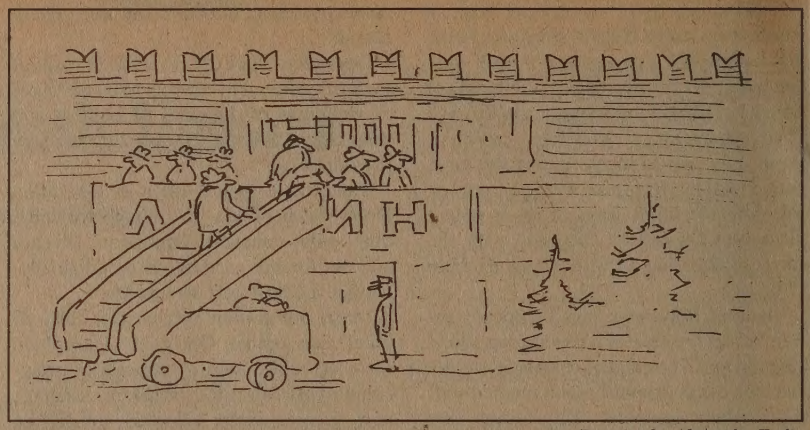
Perhaps, discrepancy between data at the disposal of the chief medical departments, the press, and the Ministry of the Interior is explained by the fact that the ills of the public health system of this country have always been meticulously swept under the carpet. I don't believe that drugs are hidden inside steel safes in barred rooms against potential night-time raiders. It is done against the criminal in a white smock who is cold-hearted, cruel, and indifferent to the sufferings of fellow human beings, regarding human illness merely as an uncontrollable biological process.

Indeed, the medical profession can be lucrative in many, including dishonest ways.

Vyacheslav Baskov

The most humane of all us humans?

Vladimir Lenin's Selected Thoughts



Drawing by Alexander Zudin

"Socialism equals Soviet Power plus the electrification of the whole country."

"Socialism alias management (accountancy)."

"Socialism means control over food distribution."

"Socialism presupposes the nationwide introduction of chemical products."

"Socialism: telegraph and postal service."

"Socialism calls for a monopoly of the bread trade."

"Socialism means dictatorship by the proletariat."

"Socialism is the product of the creative endeavor of millions of people."

"Socialism calls for universal labour conscription. This tool of control and enforcement of labour is more powerful than the Convention's legislation or the guillotine."

"The Party is no girls' boarding school. Scoundrels are sometimes valued precisely for their meanness."

"Democracy is a form of bourgeois state, upheld by all renegades from true socialism."

"Dictatorship is sublime democracy and a novel state form."

"Dictatorship by the proletariat is identified with power based on no particular authority."

"Even a cook can run a state."

"Can a worker really know anything about statesmanship? Rubbish! Our proletarians don't make up a class. In fact, they are not a proletariat but rather an irregular element."

"Everything which is done in the interests of the proletariat is moral."

"All dubious characters must be kept in a concentration camp outside the city limits."

"It is imperative to cast off arguments and sentimentalization and embark on resolute armed action..."

"Muscovites' stupidity must be punished by putting them in the bughouse for 6 hours each."

"It is necessary to broaden qualification for execution with communication to deportation to abroad."

"Supplement to a draf Criminal Code of the Russian Federation. Add: execution for a forbidden return from abroad."

"It is necessary to broaden qualification for capital punishment to include all activities of the Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, etc."

"We'll hang our first Menshevik after we eliminate our last Socialist Revolutionary."

"A wide sweep and powerful swing in the implementation of terror are commendable."

"It is advisable to launch merciless and sweeping terror."

"Rather than avoiding terror (to promise that would be an act of self-deceit) the Court must provide a solid excuse for its use, in a straightforward manner and clear terms."

"Commission Sklyansky, Markov, Petrovsky, and Dzerzhinsky to promptly arrest several members of executive committees and committees of poor peasants in areas where the snow doesn't get properly cleared away and to take some peasants hostage to be executed in case the situation is not improved."

"To Comrade Trotsky. Can you round up about 20,000 workers and a few hundred of the bourgeois elements, send them to protect Petersburg, put them before machine-guns, kill a hundred or two, and thus spur the rest of the army into fighting for victory?"

"The vacillating people are to be killed off, avoiding idiotic red tape and the provision of permission."

"We must learn commerce."

"Commercialism is inadmissible."

"We've introduced a New Economic Policy and seriously mean it to last."

"It would be a folly to believe that the NEP spells an end to terror. In fact, we'll again resort to terror, including in the economic sphere."

"I spit on your literary circles."

"We have no need for theaters now."

"Our newsletters must publish no artistic reviews or similar articles."

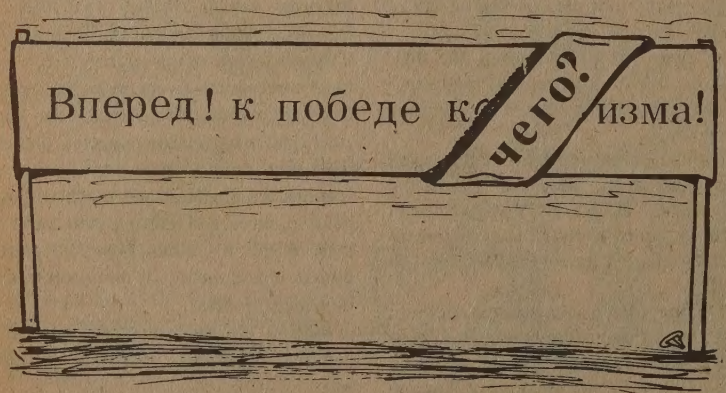
"I often can't stand or afford to listen to music: music makes me want to say sweet nothings to people and pat their backs, because people can create such beauty while living in the sordid hell of this world. But I mustn't. They would bite the caressing hand. Instead of patting them on the back I must be punching them mercilessly."

"Decrees are bullshit."

"Ministries are bullshit."

"The intelligentsia are bullshit."

Leonid Apraksin,
Leninologist,
Kishinev



Forward! Towards (what's it?) ...ism!

Drawing by Yevgeny Starodubtsev

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